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Examining White Nationalism in the US Society during Donald Trump Presidency

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Dedication

To my incredible family and cherished friends, this dissertation is a testament to the love, support, and unwavering faith you have placed on me. It is because of you that I have reached this milestone, and I am eternally grateful for your presence in my life. May this dedication serve as a small taken of my appreciation for everything you have done and continue to do.

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Abstract

White nationalism has been a longstanding act of systematic and unwanted racism targeting colored communities by white people both in the USA and other countries under the pretext of nationalism. The present dissertation serves as an in-depth overview of the interrelation between white nationalism and Donald Trump presidency. It aims to spotlight the ongoing, development and implementation of white nationalism in the society. Also, the study seeks to explain how his political agenda motivated and fueled white nationalists' eager towards expanding their ideologies threatening the existence of multiculturalism in the country. As an evidence for white nationalists' activism, the current research presents three testimonies: Trump's racist rhetoric, the Alt-right movement, and events in Charlottesville, Virginia, 2017.

الملخص

القومية البيضاء كانت ولا تزال عملية عنصرية مستمرة وغير مرغوب فيها تستهدف المجتمعات العرقية من قبل البيض في الولايات المتحدة وغيرها من البلدان تحت ذريعة القومية. تهدف هذه المذكرة الحالية إلى توضيح العلاقة المترابطة بين القومية البيضاء ورئاسة دونالد ترامب. وتهدف أيضًا إلى إلقاء الضوء على استمرارية تطور وتنفيذ القومية البيضاء في المجتمع. كما تسعى الدراسة إلى شرح كيف دفع جدول أعماله السياسي المتطرف وحرّك حماسة القوميين البيض نحو توسيع أيديولوجياتهم التي تهدد وجود التعددية الثقافية في البلاد. وكدليل على نشاط القوميين البيض، تقدم الدراسة الحالية ثلاثة شهادات: خطاب ترامب العنصري، وحركة اليمين البديل، وأحداث شارلوت فيل في فرجينيا عام 2017

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAPI	Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders
AB	Aryan brotherhood
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
DACA	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
JCPOA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
H.E.A.T	Hate, Extremism, Anti-Semitism, And Terrorism
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
LGBTQI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer people
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSM	National Socialist Movement
O.R.I.O.N	our race is our nation
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Introduction

Racial and ethnic diversity is a hallmark of American society. For that reason it is often referred to as a country of immigrants. Being considered the land of opportunities has made the United States a popular destination for immigrants from around the world: Europe, Africa, Asia or South America. This diversity is the root of many issues such as systemic racism, oppression and racial profiling. With the rise of ethnic population in the US, the white population began to fear for its position as the dominating ethnic group giving rise to a movement that is known as white nationalism.

White supremacy can be traced through the history of America all the way back to the first European settlers. Evidence of this sense of white European superiority can be found in Christopher Columbus' journal of his first voyage to the new world " they neither carry nor know anything of arms, for I gave them swords and they took them by the blade and cut themselves out of ignorance … they should make good servants" (111). The simple peaceful nature of the Native Americans was seen as a sign of weakness and thoughts of their subjugation were immediately entertained. This sense of racial superiority persevered and remained ingrained in the core of white American as the country grew and formed giving way to slavery. While the world unequivocally morally condemned slavery as a crime against humanity, white Americans were not in a haste to make such a declaration for they viewed blacks as closer to animals than humans thus justifying their cruel treatment of them. This status continued on even after the emancipation of 1865.

Racial issues in the US came to a peak in the 1960s with the Civil Rights movement. African Americans rose in wide spread protest that forced the US government to make changes to appease the masses. The movement was spearheaded by prominent figures such as martin Luther king and Malcom X. While the movement went a long way to bettering the lives of African American, it did not provide a cure for all. It is still evident today that the American

society is battling racial issues ranging from cases of police brutality to systemic oppression perpetrated against minorities such as African Americans, Mexicans, and Arabs.

The constant rise in immigrant population in the US gave way to the escalation of white fear. White nationalists in the United States of America believe in the probability of white extinction. This belief is at the heart of the white nationalist movement, as they perceive other ethnic groups as a threat to their biological purity and immigrants as competitors for the various economic opportunities available in the country. These feelings were emboldened by the election of Donald Trump into office. His creation of the wall separating the US and Mexico gave further credence to the belief that Mexican immigrants are the reason for the rise in crime levels and lack of blue collar jobs for the average working class white Americans.

The aim of this study is to comprehensively examine the ongoing and impact of white nationalism within US society during the Trump presidency. By analyzing the key elements, drivers, and consequences of white nationalist ideologies and movements during this period, the study seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the social, political, and cultural factors that contributed to their rise in prominence. Simultaneously, it sheds light on the dynamics of white nationalism; assess its implications for racial relations and social cohesion.

The research aim is maintained by addressing the following research questions. Firstly, what are the key elements and characteristics of white nationalism as manifested during this period? Secondly, how did the rhetoric and policies of the Trump administration contribute to the visibility and mainstream acceptance of white nationalist ideology? Thirdly, what were the social, cultural, and economic factors that influence the growth and mobilization of white nationalist groups and movements during the Trump presidency? Fourthly, how did white nationalism during this time affect racial relations and social cohesion within the society? Lastly, how did the media landscape and digital platforms contribute to the dissemination and amplification of white nationalist ideologies and messages during this period?

With the election of Trump in 2016, the topic of white nationalism was pushed to the forefront of public and political discussion. This resulted in the publication of a multitude of books, and articles about the issue of white nationalism and white supremacy. Retired professor Carol Swaine's 2004 book *The New White Nationalism and Its Challenge to Integration* provides a detailed analysis of the development of the numbers of nationalist groups and the resurgence of white racial nationalism. Swain argues that because of a new constellation of forces engulfing white America, nationalist activity has the potential to emerge as a social movement. Swain also finds that white nationalism's recent rise is due to economic reasons, specifically the policy of affirmative action. She insists that while the policy was intended to guaranty diversity and equality in the work place, it is discriminatory against white Americans as it is based on race rather than merit. Setting quotas for diverse hiring has overshadowed the notion of equal opportunity according to swain.

in the 2017 book *Making Sense of the Alt-Right* written by George Hawley, which examines the impact of internet anonymity on the rise of the white nationalist movement. Social media is presented as a major factor that aided in the reemergence of white nationalism as a mainstream topic. The use of memes and dark humor allowed the topic to be attractive to youth via various social media outlets such as Facebook, Instagram and tiktok. The author also argues that the movement gained momentum and became more radicalized due to threats from other social movements, such as Me Too and Black Lives Matter. He also suggests that Donald Trump's public endorsement of previously taboo ideas further emboldened white nationalists.

In "Racism in Donald Trump's Tweets: A Critical Discourse Analysis." The author highlights various instances where Donald Trump engaged in racist and white supremacist rhetoric, such as promoting fostering negative perceptions of immigrants while also fueling a wider atmosphere of fear and animosity towards individuals who are not of white ethnicity. The

author Merzoug Zahra asserts that Trump's political rise is intertwined with the rise of white nationalism.

In a study entitled "Trump and DACA on Collision Course: A Study of Argumentative Strategies." Made in Aalborg University in 2018, the author Maja-Lan Nguyen discusses polices that implement directly after Trump took office targeted specific ethnic communities such as overturned programs that allowed child immigrants to get work permits. While immigration policies are by no means stable or permanent, coupled with Trump's racist remarks lead to the healthy conclusion that the policies were made with malicious intent towards immigrants of color.

The scholarly article titled "President Trump and Charlottesville: Uncivil Mourning and White Supremacy," authored by Samuel Perry and published in the esteemed Journal of Contemporary Rhetoric, provides a comprehensive analysis of the impact generated by Trump's deliberate stance and his handling of the Charlottesville incident in Virginia. This analysis highlights how his response not only emboldened white nationalists but also thrust the enduring problem of racism into the forefront of public consciousness.

To examine white nationalism in the US society during the Trump presidency, a mixed-methods approach will be employed. This approach combines qualitative and quantitative methods to provide a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. The historical method is adopted thorough review of relevant academic literature, reports, and media sources to gather existing knowledge, theories, and perspectives on white nationalism and its relationship with the Trump presidency. Qualitative methods such as content analysis is used to analyze speeches, policy documents, and media coverage related to the Trump administration's rhetoric and policies on issues associated with white nationalism. This analysis helps identify key themes, narratives, and underlying ideologies. In-depth case studies of specific incidents, events, or organizations associated with white nationalism during the Trump presidency are conducted.

The qualitative approach provides detailed insights into the context, motivations, and consequences of these specific instances Quantitative data, such as statistical information on hate crimes, demographic trends, or public opinion surveys, is maintained to assess the scale and impact of white nationalism during the Trump presidency.

This dissertation is divided into three distinct chapters. The first chapter is titled "Theoretical and Historical Background for Nationalism, White Nationalism and White Supremacy in the United States". It provides a historical account of the nationalist movement, its spread through Europe, and its impact on the United States. It discusses the origins of the movement, beginning with the French revolution, and its rapid expansion in Greece, Germany, and England. The reasons for its widespread influence are explored, along with a definition of the movements and ideologies associated with nationalism. The chapter then focuses on American nationalism, highlighting its distinctiveness from its European counterpart and tracing its impact on the formation of the United States as a nation. An important part of the chapter is devoted to define, characterize its ideology, and go through the history of white nationalism. The chapter also delves into the concept of supremacy, including economic, patriarchal, and racial forms observed throughout American history, particularly white supremacy. Finally, the chapter clarifies the difference between nationalism and white supremacy, analyzing their respective characteristics and historical contexts.

"The US Society between Multiculturalism and the Hate Crimes by White Nationalists" is the title given to the second chapter. The latter examines the United States as a multicultural society. It begins by providing a concise definition of multiculturalism as a theory that encompasses the coexistence of different cultures within a given society. The chapter proceeds to describe the major ethnic groups within the United States, ranging from Native Americans to African Americans and Asian Americans, accompanied by statistical data highlighting the growth of these groups over the past decade. Finally, the chapter examines different theories

that capture the essence of U.S. society, including the melting pot theory and the salad bowl theory. The chapter explores the concept of "Americanness" and engages with various theories that shape its understanding. Furthermore, the chapter delves into the ongoing presence of white nationalism in the United States of America, acknowledging its significance and impact on American society from racism, the civil rights movement to the employment disparity for minorities. The chapter also provides an account of major white supremacist groups such as the KKK, the Aryan brotherhood, the national socialist movement and the American renaissance group.

The third chapter, "Trump Presidency as an empirical Image for the Clash of White Nationalists and US Ethnic Groups," examines the rise of nationalism during the Trump presidency. It begins by analyzing the unexpected victory of Trump over Hillary Clinton in the 2016 United States presidential elections and how this event influenced the mainstream acceptance of white nationalism. Trump's racist rhetoric empowered white nationalists and made the issue more prominent. The chapter presents the nationalist policies implemented during Trump's presidency, including the controversial "America First" policy in areas such as trade, immigration, and foreign affairs. It highlights the criticism faced by Trump for his policies and explores the opposition he encountered from minority groups and politicians while gaining support from white nationalists. Additionally, the chapter analyzes various racist tweets made by President Trump during his tenure, exposing his racial bias and disregard for political correctness. The chapter concludes by presenting a compilation of incidents that demonstrate the rise of racism in American society.

The Trump presidency marked a significant era in American politics that witnessed the reemergence and heightened visibility of white nationalism. This dissertation aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon of white nationalism during the tenure of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States. By examining the historical context, socio-

political factors, and key events, this study seeks to understand the intricate relationship between Trump's political rhetoric, policy decisions, and the rise of white nationalist sentiments. The investigation delves into the impact of Trump's controversial actions, such as promoting the birther theory, implementing the Muslim ban, and making derogatory remarks about various ethnic and racial groups, on the growth, mobilization, and radicalization of white nationalist movements. Through a multidimensional analysis, this dissertation seeks to shed light on the complexities surrounding white nationalism during the Trump presidency and its broader implications for American society and politics.

Chapter One

Theoretical and Historical Background for Nationalism, White Nationalism and

White Supremacy in the United States

The United States of America is a highly diverse community. Through immigration, the population has become multicultural and multifaceted bringing together a host of cultures and ethnic groups that have slowly influenced one another and resulted in its mosaic community of today. The relationship between the different ethnic groups has been the source of debate among scholars for centuries. This chapter attempts to present an overview of the key concepts "nationalism, white nationalism, white supremacy". A starting presentation goes with the theoretical perspectives for what is meant by nationalism and white nationalism to highlight its origins, evolution and forms in the US society. The covered ambiguity on the term white supremacy is too clarified as another step and a crucial part in the chapter.

1.1. The Origin of the Nationalist Movement

Nationalism is a modern political and social movement that revolves around the sentiment of devotion and pride in one's nation, culture and tradition. It also preaches the need to build and maintain a single united national identity. Moreover, nationalists believe in a nation's sovereignty and self-governance without outside influence. Nationalism is a very broad approach that according to the Australian philosopher Eugene Kamenka is "threatening to merge into patriotism or national consciousness at one end and fascism and anti-individualism at the other" (3). To better explain the meaning of nationalism, one must examine the historical context under which it arose and found prominence as a movement. Although it is well known that humans have always had a profound sense of territoriality and loyalty to their own countries, nationalism was not a clearly defined concept until the 18th century. Furthermore,

the French and American revolutions are often cited as among the movement's earliest manifestations.

The French revolution ignited in 1789 and with it, the idea of popular sovereignty was born. While the obvious consequences were most felt in France, the ripple effect was evident in the neighboring countries as well especially in Germany and Britain where the notion of nationalism was further encouraged by writers, poets and scholars. Nationalism supports a republican form of government as opposed to a monarchy, which was the prevailing system of rule at the time (Sangster 29-30). By examining its historical origins and its connection to the French and American revolutions, one can gain a deeper understanding of nationalism's evolution as a political movement that values popular sovereignty and republican government over traditional monarchical rule.

Following the French example, other European countries experienced their own revolutions that sought to overthrow the monarchs or at least minimize their power and influence over state matters and return the power to the people. Greece was the first domino to follow with its war of independence from the long reign of the Ottoman Empire, which started in the 15th century. Western European countries as well as Greeks living in exile stoked the fire of the revolution. Words of ancient Greece had been the cradle of European culture and civilization and encouraged the common people to fight back against the Muslim empire. The independence efforts yielded the treaty of Constantinople that recognized Greece as an independent nation. The next to follow was Germany, the educated members of the middle class took advantage of the rise of popular sentiment and began leading the masses in a call for an all-German national assembly and later on drafted the first constitution of German nation state.

The case of England is by far the most distinct from other European cases. In England, power resided with its parliament not the monarchs like France or Germany. The parliament recognized the benefits of a unified nation state and began constructing through a prolonged

process. The first step was gaining influence over Scotland through the act of union in 1707 casting the first stone what is now known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Afterwards, England set its sights on Ireland and it used the religious divide between the Catholics and Protestants to gain a foothold in the country. By supporting the Protestants and suppressing the various catholic revolts, England absorbed Ireland into the nation and Great Britain in 1801 (Hobsbawm 108-110). England's unique political structure and its parliament's recognition of the advantages of a unified nation state played a crucial role in the country's expansion and eventual formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

1.2.A Theoretical Perspectives for the construction of National Identity

Ethnicity has been a topic of interest for scholars and researchers for centuries because it has the potential to be used as justification for high scale violence and conflict among peoples. Multiple theories have been conceived in the attempt to understand ethnicity one of which is primordialism. Primordialism makes the assumption that ethnicity is fixed and rooted incapable of changing for any conceivable reason. Proponents of the theory believe that the ethnicity of a group is to be maintained through generational purity and preservation of the uniqueness of a social group. This point of view renders any 'contamination' of this purity to be inferior. This is the bases of most racist views about society and social hierarchy (Kataria 130-131). The primordial view of individual identity is contingent on the place, language and culture into which one is born. This identity is shared among the people that are related and in close proximity to one another. This shared identity is what holds a community together forming the national identity of a state. The existence of this mindset allowed for the spread of nationalism in Europe. Although nationalism gained its humble beginnings due to primordialism, it quickly outpaced the former and outgrew the limitation that primordialism set such as the position of minorities.

Another theory that is cited in relation to nationalism is ethnosymbolism. Ethnosymbolism is a study within nationalism that defines national identity through an analysis of its symbolic elements such as myths, language, traditions, and figures. The main consensus of the theory of ethnosymbolism is that ethnic identity has a long duration and can be traced through time all the way back to ancient civilizations like that of Egypt while nationalism is merely the modern day state of a nation (smith 23).

The study of ethnicity necessitates a nuanced comprehension of the psychological and cognitive processes underlying people's attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs towards it. It is through the symbolic boundary mechanisms such as vernacular, signage, and architecture that ethnic groups endure over time. Moreover, the significance attributed to these symbolic markers by the ruling elites and the successive mythical structures that they construct around them further cement their persistence. Therefore, ethnosymbolism provides a valuable lens through which to examine national identity by analyzing its symbolic elements, and highlights the enduring nature of ethnic identity throughout history. By understanding the psychological and cognitive processes that shape people's attitudes towards ethnicity, it can better appreciate the significance of symbolic boundary mechanisms, such as language and dress, in fostering the persistence of ethnic groups over time. The construction of mythical structures and the importance attributed to these symbolic markers by elites further reinforces the enduring nature of ethnicity (Smith 23-24).

Another theory that was essential to the rapid rise and spread of nationalism from its early days in the 18th century is modernism. Nationalism is regarded as the direct product of industrialization and the new division of labor. This theory stands in contrast to primordialism as it distinguishes nationalism from biological constraints and makes draws a link between national identity and culture. The social circumstances during which nationalism gained popularity is a time of social change and mobilization of workers due to the introduction of the

steam engine from Britain (Conversi 18-24). The unprecedented sense of awareness among the general population and common people is heavily associated with the modernist effect on society at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

1.3.Nationalism and politics in the United States

1.3.1. Forms of Nationalism

American nationalism is defined as a set of ideals, sentiments and beliefs that govern the meaning of the United States as a nation and its citizens' relationship to it. Its importance in the forming of the nation is paramount for it fueled the expansion to the west movement and its rejection of the universally dominant forms of government of its time. Throughout American history, various forms of nationalism have endured, including civic, ethnic, cultural, and economic nationalism. The most prominent form of nationalism in the United States is ethnic nationalism. In the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism, Intra-State Conflicts and Conflict Resolution, Ethno nationalism is defined as a political ideology that defines a nation through the shared ethnicity and cultural identity of it citizens. It contends that individuals with similar cultural, linguistic, and historical traits need to form one political entity, and that entity ought to represent the objectives and aspirations of its ethnic community. The focus is on maintaining the group's distinct cultural identity, which frequently implies having an exclusive or discriminatory attitude toward individuals who do not share this identity (Yilmaz 14).

Another form of nationalism that is often seen in contradiction with ethnic nationalism is civic nationalism. Civic nationalism is the belief that individuals can be part of a nation regardless of their ethnicity, race, or cultural background, as long as they share common political beliefs and values. Civic nationalism is frequently linked to liberal democracies, which place a strong emphasis on the rights, liberties, and equality of all people. In such communities, people are united by a shared commitment to democratic ideals, such as the rule of law, human

rights, and civic engagement, rather than by similar ethnic or cultural roots. This implies that as long as they uphold these ideals, everyone can join the country on an equal footing regardless of their race or cultural heritage (Stilz 257-258).

1.3.2. History of Nationalism

The history of nationalism in the United States of America dates back to the founding of the nation in the 18th century. The United States began as a mere extension of Britain in the form of the 13 original colonies. The point of contention that created the rift between the colonies and Britain is the beginning of a sense of belonging, attachment and loyalty to the land they inhibited. As the sense of being American grew; it resulted in the 13 colonies uniting under the same liberal principles of freedom and pursuit of happiness and that of North Americans being one people with allegiance to their own land as opposed to Britain. The American Revolution was a long and grueling war of independence that yielded the foundation of the United States of America; a new nation (Ziegler 347).

After the independence, Americans began to expand further and further from the east coast starting with the purchase of Louisiana from the French and ending with the continuing conflict with the Native Americans. Americans committed atrocities against the natives in the name of one concept, the 'manifest destiny'. The manifest destiny is the idea that American culture, beliefs are superior to all others, that it was their duty, and responsibility to spread civilization to those they considered uncivilized savages i.e. the Native Americans. The west was seen as 'wild' and thus it justified their treatment of the Native American who was seen as an obstruction for civilization. This demonstrates one of the main characteristics of American nationalism that still persists in the American mindset to this day and drives the majority of their foreign policy decision making. This expansion did not stop at the west coast but reached the pacific islands, which established the United States as a colonization nation and the notion

of American exceptionalism was used as a justification for their war with Mexico, Spain and the Pacific islands (Tian 978).

The coming of the 20th century brought the two world wars. During this period, American nationalism took two different form as Americans split between isolationists and interventionists. The world war that broke at the turn of the 20th century was among the first grand scale modern wars and this cause a great deal of debate in the united states between those who wanted to exert American influence on the proceedings and spread the American liberal values and those who wanted focus American resources on the American people. Isolationists won out during and after the world war, which resulted in the United States staying out of the fighting and withdrawing from the League of Nations entirely. This isolationist stance came to a screeching halt with the outbreak of the Second World War and the rise of imperialist Japan threatening American influence in the Pacific Ocean. The United States was forced to enter the armed conflict to respond to the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese. This intervention in the world war marked the official and final end of the isolationist foreign policy for the US (Triki and Mohrem 22-26). The events of World War II marked a definitive turning point in American foreign policy, as the country was forced to abandon its longstanding isolationist stance and engage with the rest of the world in a more active and interventionist manner.

In addition to the late entry to the war, the US provided European allied forces with financial and hardware support that was essential for the allied victory in the war. After the war, American nationalism began to truly manifest on an international scale. The United States set itself to be the savior of the world by heading the effort to rebuild Europe after the catastrophic damage of the war left the continent in shambles. This intervention is in line with American belief in their supremacy and exceptionalism as it set into motion its plan for global influence and control.

After the Second World War, the world entered a period that is known as the cold war. This name was dubbed on the conflict between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. This was an era of global tension and veiled strikes as both sides aimed to halt the other's expansion and further their own. This time was defined and powered by the essence of American nationalism as Americans viewed themselves as the defenders of freedom and democracy against the forces of communism. The global role of the United States was defined according to this belief. While this new internationalist stance can be seen as the decline of nationalism, it is not as the United States used this opportunity to further spread its values and culture to all parts of the world and enjoy its role as the dominating world power (Tian 979).

On September 11, 2001, a series of coordinated attacks shook America. Terrorists hijacked planes and crashed them into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, killing thousands; a devastating event changed the world. After 9/11, American nationalism was once again propelled to the forefront of American foreign policy. The same as after the Pearl Harbor attack, the American people became united in the face of the new threat to their livelihood. They now had a new purpose, which as former president G.W. Bush put it in his famous axis of evil speech "History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight" (4). They viewed that Americans had a duty to fight evil in the world except now this evil had a new face, Islam.

1.4. White Nationalism in the United States

1.4.1. Definition of the Concept

White nationalism, as a political ideology, revolves around the establishment of socio-political and economic structures that prioritize the welfare and interests of individuals who identify as white. This ideology operates in tandem with a disregard for the political rights and concerns of non-white minority groups. The rhetoric associated with white nationalism frequently demonstrates extremist inclinations, encompassing a wide range of perspectives that

encompass critiques of government programs intended to support marginalized populations. At its most extreme, white nationalist discourse can advocate for and justify violent actions directed towards individuals belonging to non-white racial backgrounds. This includes people who are perceived as standing in the way of the advancement of white individuals or hindering the realization of white nationalist goals. Within the framework of white nationalism, there exists a spectrum of viewpoints that differ in their intensity and methods of expressing their ideological positions. This spectrum ranges from those who voice concerns and criticisms regarding government initiatives aimed at benefiting minority populations to those who endorse and actively promote violent means to attain white nationalist objectives. It is crucial to note that white nationalism stands in stark contrast to principles of equality, justice, and respect for all individuals, regardless of their racial or ethnic backgrounds (Sriram 1). The ideology's underlying foundation reinforces and perpetuates systems of inequality and discrimination, disregarding the fundamental rights and dignity of non-white minority communities.

1.4.2. Structural Existence for White Nationalism

The emergence of certain conditions in the United States has fueled the growth of white consciousness among those of European ancestry, known as white nationalism, which stems from the older white supremacy movement and poses a threat to racial harmony. Multiple factors contribute to this rise in racial consciousness. The changing demographics of the United States, marked by a decline in the white majority, have generated anxieties among some white individuals. They perceive these demographic shifts as a threat to their cultural and political dominance. This sense of being outnumbered or marginalized can fuel a reactionary response, leading to the embrace of extremist ideologies that seek to preserve white identity and privilege. The Great Recession and subsequent economic shifts, such as automation and globalization, have had a profound impact on job availability and stability. Many white individuals faced job losses or experienced economic hardships, which in turn bred frustration and resentment. This

economic instability created fertile ground for extremist narratives that blame non-white populations or globalization for job losses and diminished economic prospects. The increasing presence of minority communities in traditionally white-dominated domains and spaces has challenged long-held assumptions of white cultural and social dominance. Some white individuals may perceive this as a threat to their cultural identity and status. Cultural displacement and a fear of losing social, economic, and political power can contribute to the adoption of extreme nationalist or supremacist ideologies as a means of reestablishing perceived lost authority. Shifts in cultural norms and societal attitudes have challenged the long-standing narrative of white hegemony in America. Movements advocating for social justice, inclusivity, and equal rights have gained momentum, questioning and critiquing the moral and ethical legitimacy of white dominance (Reyna et al. 80-83).

When these conditions are taken together, they present a major challenge to the racial integration of the United States. Sociologists have found that social movements often gain momentum when activists have enough grievances to create collective action frames that reframe previously tolerable issues as grossly unfair or intolerable. For white activists seeking greater solidarity and pride among European Americans, racial minorities, Jews, and the federal government all serve as visible and viable targets for the hostility generated by the conditions mentioned above (Swain 2-3). In order to mobilize the racial consciousness of white Americans, it is crucial to establish a personal narrative or storyline that helps groups and individuals perceive and explain the world around them.

In contemporary society, overt displays of racism are widely disapproved, leading racists to adopt the guise of conservatism. Consequently, white nationalism has managed to infiltrate the highest echelons of political power and has started to exert considerable influence over the formulation of public policies, thereby establishing a link between white racism and white nationalism. White individuals, seeking to utilize the political system to establish a new

framework of social control over black and other racial minority populations, subtly incorporate the principles of white nationalism as an underlying subtext within their political reform agendas. This utilization of politics and policy-making as instruments of social change reflects a growing trend within mainstream white nationalism, wherein institutional control is leveraged to shape specific outcomes that aim to penalize cultures deemed offensive to the white nationalist agenda(Walters 25). Although instances of overt racism persist, both in official and unofficial capacities, the dominant white nationalist ideology now relies on utilizing institutional power to rearrange the fundamental principles of civil rights and social resource allocation, ultimately re-empowering white individuals

1.5.The Development of Interpretations for the Concept "Supremacy"

1.5.1. Forms of Supremacy in the United States

Supremacy or cultural superiority in the United States is a complex and multifaceted issue that has been a source of tension and controversy throughout the nation's history. At its core, supremacy refers to the belief that one group or individual is superior to others, whether that superiority is based on race, gender, religion, or other factors. Supremacy is an issue that has been deeply rooted in the American mindset since the foundation of America and before that with the European settlers that first settled there (Bratt 211). There are multiple forms of supremacy that can be observed in American history, politics and society.

The first form of supremacy that is prominent in American thought and politics is economic supremacy. After the end of the Second World War in 1945, the United States began to exhibit it desire to mold the global world into a system of western domination and supremacy through means of economic and military coercion. These plans were interrupted and obstructed by the rise of a competing global power, the Soviet Union. The conflict between the two was labeled the cold war for its means were economic and technological and financial competition. After a long and grueling war with the USSR, the United States achieved its long awaited

victory and established with it the new uni-polar world system. Under this new system, the United States dominated the world economically and militarily and exerted its influence on smaller nations in order to further its own interests (Yilmaz 44-45).

The second form of supremacy in the United States is patriarchal supremacy where men believe that they are superior to women. Western civilization often claims to be the pioneer of freedom, equality, democracy peace, and others. However, one of the main societal issues they suffer from to this day is the inequality between men and women. Women in western societies have always been considered inferior to men and thus treated unfairly. In the United States women were only able to join the work force because the men were fighting in the war. Women were also denied the opportunity to vote until the 1920s with the coming of the roaring twenties. Even now in the 21ST century, the United States still has a gender wage gap where women are paid less for doing the same amount of work as men (Becker 21). Hence, while significant strides have been made in terms of women's rights and opportunities in the United States, there is still progress to be made in terms of achieving true gender equality in the workplace and beyond.

The most prominent form of supremacy in the United States is racial supremacy, specifically white supremacy. While this mindset has always been rooted in the nation's fabric, it rose to prominence during several historical moments. White supremacy first became evident in the mid-1800s with talks of abolishing slavery becoming the focus of northern states. White supremacy and racism were among the primary reasons for the breakout of the civil war in the United States as southerners defended slavery and their way of life. They viewed Blacks as less than human and unworthy of equal rights solely based on the color of their skin.

Upon their defeat in the civil war, white supremacists founded one of the most notorious racist groups in the United States to this day, the Ku Klux Klan. Black Americans legally gained their freedom and recognition as American citizens with the end of the civil war. However,

whites did not accept as their equals and they suffered from discrimination from society, law enforcement and government as a whole. The KKK took to terrorizing African Americans through violence, rape, hanging, lynching and many other atrocious acts (Gardiner 1-8). The turn of the 20th century brought along better conditions for African Americans as acts of violence from white supremacists witnessed a decline. This however changed once again in the 1960s with the coming of the civil rights movement. The civil rights activists struggled to quell the KKK and their acts of resistance against African Americans' quest for equal rights continued for decades after. The group only declined into obscurity after the 1995 Oklahoma bombing drew the attention of the federal bureau of investigations for it is a domestic act of terrorism.

1.5.2. The Evolution of the Concept White Supremacy

White supremacy has evolved over the years. The original reason for the sense of superiority whites felt was for skin color. In the recent years a new theory has become the driving force behind the white supremacy movement and that is the theory of white extinction. White Americans now believe that due to the rise in ethnic population in the United States due to immigration and the mix in races in marriage, the white race is now in risk of becoming a minority itself or worse extinct all together. This conspiracy theory makes the claim that the white race is being deliberately eradicated and through various means such as intermarriage, low birth rates and immigration (Johnson 11). This theory is highly criticized for its discriminatory views and promotion of hate speech and lack of credible evidence.

Over the years, white supremacy changed drastically from its traditional state in order to keep up with the changing times and social atmosphere. The most evident change in the movement is its change, tactics and strategies. Prior to the civil rights movement, the world and public opinion was far more tolerant to the bouts of violence that were perpetrated by white supremacists against other ethnic groups. This was mainly due to the lingering opinions and

views from days of slavery. As the civil rights movement broke out, America was confronted by the sheer might and numbers of African Americans leaving it no room to refuse their demands and ushering in a new age of racial tolerance and social equality. This immense change forced white supremacists to alter their tactics to fit the new reality. Traditional white supremacist were often promoting discriminatory laws and practices, such those that were in place in the United States during the Jim Crow era relying on blatantly racist language and iconography to further their ideas (Bonilla-Silva and Lewis 2-3).

On the other hand, contemporary white supremacy uses other strategies to try to accomplish the same ends. Modern white supremacists may advocate for the preservation of white people's cultural and ethnic identity rather than open segregation and exclusion, frequently through opposing immigration and encouraging a sense of victimization among white people. In order to avoid being labeled as blatantly racist or white supremacist, contemporary white nationalists may also utilize coded language and symbols, such as the "OK" hand signal. They also reject the explicit advocacy for violence and tend to promote their ideology through online propaganda in order to appeal to those who share their beliefs but aren't comfortable with the excess use of violence (Leach 432-433). In conclusion, while the tactics and rhetoric of contemporary white supremacy may have evolved over time, the underlying desire to maintain white dominance and superiority remains a key element of their ideology.

1.6. Is it White Nationalism or White Supremacy?

Nationalism as previously established is a political ideology that emphasizes the importance of a shared feeling of identification and belonging among people who share a common history, culture, language, religion, or other comparable features is important, according to the political philosophy of nationalism (Calhoun 211-212). White supremacy on the other hand is a belief system that asserts the superiority of the white race over all other races and ethnicities. It is defined by the idea that white people are intrinsically superior to other

races in terms of intelligence, morals, and culture and are thus entitled to rule and govern them. This ideology is generally regarded as a type of racism and a danger to societal harmony and equality since it is frequently linked to far-right political formations and hate groups. It is essential to clarify the differences between nationalism and white supremacy since the two ideas are frequently confused or misinterpreted, which causes misunderstandings. White supremacy is widely seen as an abhorrent ideology that encourages hatred and discrimination based on race, whereas nationalism may have both positive and harmful components.

Nationalism is a political ideology that originated in Europe in the 18th century in response to the overwhelming support for nation states and popular sovereignty and the increasing focus on shared culture, language and history. On the other hand, the history of European colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade is where white supremacy has its origins. The ideology developed to defend the system of slavery, colonialism, and segregation by white Europeans and served as a justification for their oppression and exploitation of non-white peoples. In the United States, The racial segregation of the Jim Crow era and the enslavement of Africans are examples of its grim history (Biswas 415-416).

The clear distinction between nationalism and white supremacy can be made when examining each concept's characteristics. Nationalism has many characteristics that include: the shared sense of identity between a group of individuals with the same culture, language and history. Also, nationalism promotes patriotism and love for one's country and a willingness to defend it against all threats. Nationalism also encourages unity among the people with the same national identity. Moreover, it supports the nation's sovereignty and self-determination without outside influence (Barrington 11). Characteristics of white supremacy however include: racism and the belief that white people are superior to all other ethnic groups, the exclusion of people of color from political and power positions, the use of violence to advance their beliefs on others, and lastly historical revisionism as white supremacists often attempt to change the

context of historical events to justify their actions. A comparison between the characteristics of both ideologies makes it apparent that they are two very distinct concepts.

The two ideologies share the same criticism for their promotion of exclusion and exploitation of marginalized people; their role in slavery and the colonization of other countries in the name of supremacy and self-interests. They are also responsible for many exclusionary policies and systemic oppression and discriminatory laws. Moreover, both ideologies rejected scientific evidence that demonstrates biological and genetic diversity. Nationalism and white supremacy have a long and often intertwined history that causes people to confuse the two and consider them as one and the same. White supremacists often resort to employing nationalist symbols and vernacular to promote their beliefs causing the confusion of the two or white nationalism.

In conclusion, a theoretical overview of the different concepts and ideologies involved in the topic is presented earlier. Multiculturalism is the theory that best describes the diversity of American ethnicity and race. The existence of so many ethnic groups in the nation prevents the birth of a new race as the melting pot theory suggests but this diversity is the staple of American society. Another ideology that effects relations between different ethnic groups is nationalism. Nationalism is a political ideology that promotes love, pride and devotion to one's nation. The spread of nationalism was in most part due to its relation to three main theories: ethnosymbolism, primordialism and most importantly modernism. In the United States, nationalism also rose to prominence with the ignition of the war of independence. Nationalism deeply affected and shaped American politics and the nation as a whole. The profound effect nationalism had on the American identity lead to the rise of its dark and violent counterpart; white supremacy. White supremacy is now considered a staple of American society. The ideology evolved in order to adapt to the changing public opinion but in the most part it attainted its belief in the superiority of the white race and continues to view other races as inferior and a

threat. Nationalism and white supremacy are often mistaken for one another for white nationalist resort to using nationalist vernacular and symbols to conspicuously spread their own agenda.

Chapter Two

The US Society between Multiculturalism and the Hate Crimes by White Nationalists

As a multicultural society, the United States has long been home to people of diverse ethnicities, cultures, and religions. However, the issue of American identity and what it means to be American has been a topic of debate among proponents and opponents alike. While some argue for the importance of preserving one's cultural identity, others argue that it is necessary to assimilate into a single American identity. The ongoing resurgence of white nationalism in the United States has shed light on the persistent divisions within American society. A range of factors, including economic insecurity and a perceived threat to white dominance, has fueled this phenomenon. The effects of white nationalism are felt both socially, through racism and discrimination, and economically, through disparities in minority unemployment rates.

2.1. Embracing Multiculturalism: The United States as a Diverse Society

2.1.1. Definition of Multiculturalism

The phenomenon of global migration has led to an unparalleled level of diversity in numerous nations, thereby igniting a vigorous discourse on the matter of national identity worldwide. This has prompted extensive investigation within the realm of social sciences, particularly political science and psychology. In the majority of countries, national identity is delineated by shared language, religious affiliation, and/or observable physical traits. However, nations with a historical influx of immigrants like the United States and Canada, as well as those experiencing recent surges in diversity due to migration, face significant challenges in defining and upholding a unified national identity that facilitates the integration of diverse subgroups within society (Marcelo and Huynh 1).In light of these circumstances, various competing approaches or ideological frameworks have arisen, such as multiculturalism and assimilation.

Multiculturalism is a theory that describes how different cultures coexist in a given society. It also refers to a collection of interconnected cultural movements that highlight the diversity of society and culture. This movement's primary goal is to promote how immigrant cultures can have an impact on the culture of the nation. Multiculturalism rose to prominence during the 1980s especially in education, as different textbooks began to present a more inclusive view of American culture and society as opposed to the previous view of the all-white America. This novel focus on different cultures resulted in a heated debate between proponents who advocated for diversity and inclusivity and opponents who viewed the movement as an attack on the foundations of western culture. The 1960s social movements of minorities, from the civil rights movement to the growth of feminism, were a major factor in the emergence of multiculturalism in the United States (Mendible 2-4). The philosophy of multiculturalism holds that every cultural group possesses distinctive and valuable attributes that can enrich society.

While acknowledging that multiculturalism encompasses the presence of diverse cultures within a society, another fundamental aspect of multiculturalism is ensuring fair and inclusive participation. Merely recognizing cultural diversity without taking into account equitable participation can lead to the formation of isolated cultural groups within a diverse society. If diversity exists without equal participation, it may result in separation or segregation. Conversely, if equal participation exists without diversity, assimilation or the pursuit of homogeneity can occur. In the absence of both diversity and equity, marginalized individuals and exclusion are likely to occur (Sam and Berry 441). However, when both diversity and equity are present, integration and the fostering of multiculturalism can be achieved.

2.1.2. Traces of Multiculturalism through History

The phenomenon of multiculturalism has a rich historical lineage, extending back to ancient civilizations like Macedonia. Under the leadership of Alexander the Great, Macedonia witnessed unprecedented expansion into new territories. Unlike imposing strict cultural

assimilation, Alexander embraced a more inclusive approach. While spreading Macedonian (Greek) culture, he also respected and integrated the customs of the native inhabitants. Notably, after conquering Egypt, he adopted traditions such as the pharaoh's ascension to the throne, and he encouraged intercultural exchanges through marriages, fostering a multicultural society (Gonçalves 232). This historical example highlights the blend of cultural preservation and integration, laying the foundation for the concept of multiculturalism we recognize today.

The Roman Empire stands as another significant example of multiculturalism in ancient civilizations. During its peak, the empire embraced a diverse range of nations and tribes, each with its own customs and beliefs. Notably, Tacitus, a Roman historian, documented instances of foreigners, including slaves, playing influential roles in Roman society. The Romans assimilated conquered nations into their political system, seeking complete integration and leaving a lasting social and cultural impact on these territories. This inclusive approach fostered cultural exchange and enriched the multicultural fabric of the Roman Empire, evident in governance, language, and religious syncretism (Gražulis and Mockienė 35). The legacy of Roman multiculturalism continues to influence contemporary cultures and governance.

The history of modern Britain is a testament to the enduring presence of migration and cultural diversity since ancient times. From the Celtic Britons to the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and Vikings, each group has left an indelible mark on British culture. Despite conflicts and assimilation policies, different cultures and religions have managed to coexist, contributing to the strength and dynamism of the nation. Multiculturalism in Britain is not a recent phenomenon but has a rich and successful history, as different communities have adapted, integrated, and made valuable contributions to the country's identity. The exchange of ideas, traditions, and values has enriched British society, fostering resilience, innovation, and social cohesion (Gražulis and Mockienė 36). Embracing diversity continues to be a crucial aspect of Britain's

national character, celebrating the tapestry of cultures that shape its vibrant and inclusive society.

2.2. Major Ethnic Groups in the United States

The United States of America is most often referred to as a country of immigrants due to its ethnically diverse population. Most Industrial nations like the US became multicultural communities due to the phenomena of global diaspora. The American society is largely made up of immigrants or the descendants of immigrants with only a small minority of Native Americans claiming belonging to the land (Kivisto 43). The immigration process can be divided into three distinct waves. The first wave spans from 1820 to 1861, the immigrants of this era were mainly of European origins. The second wave of immigration started after the end of the American civil war and ended in 1924 with the implementation of the restriction act that favored white male immigrants. The third wave started from 1965 to present and mostly consists of Latin and South American immigrants (Baxter and Nowresteh 2-6). Understanding the three distinct waves of immigration in the United States sheds light on the changing patterns and demographics of immigrants over time.

Race and ethnicity in the United States population is highly diverse with groups from all parts of the world consistently moving to and calling the US their home. The original inhabitants of the continent are the American Indians as the outsiders first called them but were later politically corrected into Native Americans. The natives are the first ethnic group to be dominated and persecuted by white Americans. Native Americans are a peaceful people while the European settlers were not and they took advantage of that fact to push them from the coastal areas into the mountains and established their own colonies in the area (Morghad and Atto Boutiba 5). Native Americans have fought against assimilation for centuries because they were obligated to set their culture aside and learn English and adjust their everyday life to fit with

that of the white Americans. To this day native Americans have a total of 567 tribes that live on reservations.

Another major ethnic group in the United States is African Americans. The US has a long and dark history when it comes to African Americans beginning with the highly controversial issue of slavery. African Americans are the third largest ethnic group in the United States. They were brought to the US as slaves through the Atlantic slave trade from different parts of Africa. The African American community is by far the ethnic group that suffered the most discrimination and racism by white Americans. For a long time they were not even considered as human beings but closer to animals and were thus denied basic human right and were used as slaves in plantations for agriculture under horrendous conditions. It was not until the civil war in the late 19th century that they were legally emancipated. Despite their emancipation they continued to be discriminated against by white Americans and this state of affairs lasted another century after the civil war. The civil rights movement is the historic event where African Americans finally took a stance against the treatment they suffered from and rose in peaceful protests that swept through the country led by prominent figures like Martin Luther JR and Malcom X (Benoudina 20-21). Overall, the civil rights movement was a pivotal moment in American history that marked the beginning of a long and ongoing struggle for racial equality and justice.

Asian Americans also form one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States. The Asian American community comprises of different nationalities such as Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Indian, Korean as well as various other Asian communities. Immigration from Asia to the United States began as early as the late 19th century and was by law prohibited from naturalization until the 1940s. During the California gold rush, Asians immigrated in large numbers to the United States to escape the Japanese imperialism and the famine rapidly spreading in Korea to search for better opportunities in the railroad work in the US. Although

most of the original Asian immigrants were low skill workers, they are now considered the most educated racial group in the United States (Taylor 19). The same as other ethnic groups, Asian American faced discrimination by white Americans especially Japanese Americans during the Second World War and the aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack as well as Korean during the Korean War in the 1950s. This ethnic group and others form a change in race composition of the nation as figure 1 provides.

Fig.1. Percentage Change in Race Groups: 2010 and 2020
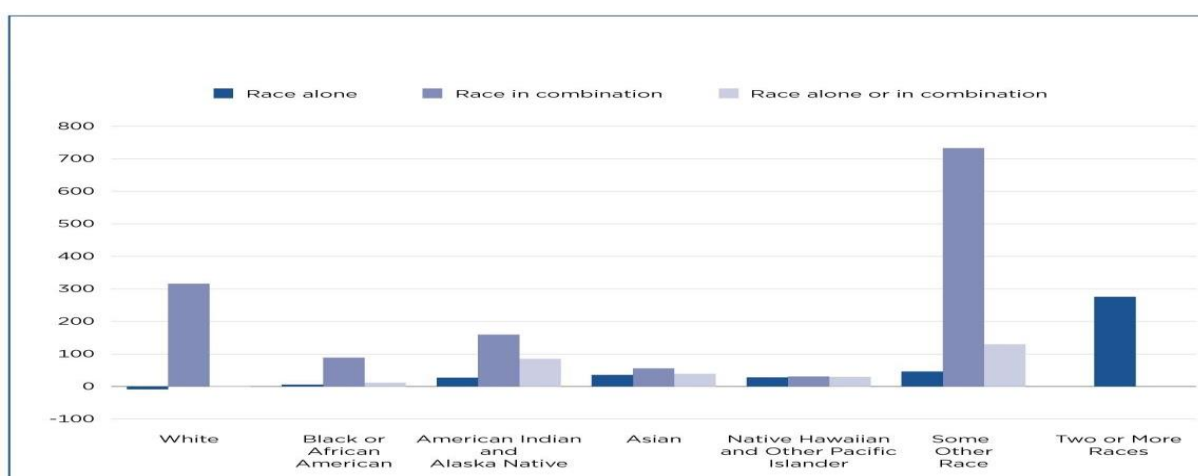
Source: Jones et al.. "2020 Census Illuminates Racial and Ethnic Composition of the

Country." *Unites States Census*, 2021. https://shorturl.at/CLZ59

The graph shows the racial and ethnic composition of the United States population using data from the 2020 Census. One notable feature of the graph is the significant increase in the multiracial population, which has grown from 2.4% in 2000 to 10.2% in 2020. The graph also shows that the white population has decreased slightly, from 69% in 2000 to 57.8% in 2020, while the Hispanic and Asian populations have both increased significantly. The Black population has remained relatively stable over time, at around 12-13% (Jones).

In the United States, there is a sizable population of Muslims, ranging from 6 to 7.5 million individuals, who consider themselves American. This community is composed of a

diverse mix of immigrants and second- and third-generation Muslims from various backgrounds, including Arab, Latino, Asian, European, African, and African American. The growth of the American Muslim community has given rise to a wide range of organizations dedicated to religious, civic, political, cultural, economic, social, ethnic, feminist, artistic, and professional pursuits. These organizations represent a multitude of perspectives and voices, addressing important issues such as terrorism, democracy, peacebuilding, and human rights (Qamar-ul 1). It is worth noting that American Muslims do not perceive any contradictions between their Islamic beliefs and values and ideals such as democracy, pluralism, and political activism. In fact, several national groups have recently focused their efforts on reconciling these principles with Islamic teachings, emphasizing the shared values and goals between Islam and American society.

2.3. The US Population Composition between Assimilation and Contestation

2.3.1. The US Society through the Melting Pot Theory

The growing fascination with the ethnic history of America should not be a surprise to us. After all, America is a nation built by immigrants, even though their acceptance and acknowledgment were often challenging. Immigrants from all continents, from various backgrounds and for countless reasons, came to the United States in search of "the promised land." The history of the United States is undoubtedly intertwined with the history of immigration, and the composition of American society today serves as tangible evidence of this immigration legacy. As ethnic groups continue to expand and gain more visibility, it is evident that there is a vast amount of history waiting to be fully explored and appreciated. Since the 1970s, there has been a significant surge in interest regarding different ethnicities, their cultures, and customs.

The United States of America, often hailed as the land of freedom and opportunity, has cultivated a reputation as a welcoming nation for immigrants throughout its history. This continuous influx of newcomers has contributed to the fluidity of the country's ethnic makeup, which, in turn, has played a vital role in preserving a sense of national unity while preventing conflicts between diverse ethnic groups. In the nineteenth century, the concept of the melting pot gained popularity, suggesting that immigrants to the United States would assimilate into a new collective identity. Supporters of this theory believed that as immigrants were influenced by American culture, they would, in turn, shape and contribute to that culture themselves. However, the theory's adoption led to radical factions insisting that immigrants should abandon their native languages and traditions in favor of American beliefs, often overlooking the rich tapestry of differences among various ethnicities. This approach failed to account for the history and mindset of Americans, rooted in the European settlers' encounters with Native Americans, characterized by disdain and violence (Maddern 1-4). The sense of superiority embedded in the American belief system can be traced back to its European origins.

Nonetheless, sociologists often characterize America as a crucible, a metaphorical melting pot where diversity and differences converge to undergo a transformative process, ultimately giving rise to a distinctive and dynamic American culture. This cultural tapestry extends well beyond the dominance of the Anglo-American heritage, incorporating elements from a myriad of ethnic backgrounds. It serves as a testament to America's remarkable ability to embrace and integrate diverse perspectives, traditions, and values, drawing contributions from Native American tribes, successive waves of immigrants, and countless communities across the nation. From its rich culinary traditions to its diverse artistic expressions and festive celebrations, American culture thrives on the multiplicity of influences, constantly evolving and reflecting the dynamic interactions and exchanges taking place within its borders (Zaki El Shahat Mohamed 6-7). This celebration of diversity acts as a transformative force, shaping a

truly exceptional and continuously evolving American identity that encompasses the fusion of diversity and difference.

The relationship between assimilation, the melting pot, and white nationalism in the United States is multifaceted and often contentious. Assimilation has been a dominant narrative, emphasizing the integration of immigrants into American society by adopting its language, culture, and values. The concept of the melting pot goes hand in hand with assimilation, suggesting that diverse cultural identities blend together to form a unified American identity (Rumbaut 8-9). However, this perspective has faced criticism from white nationalists, who reject multiculturalism and advocate for an exclusive vision of American identity rooted in white culture and heritage. They often call for strict immigration controls, cultural assimilation of immigrants, and the preservation of what they perceive as traditional American values. The tension between assimilation, the melting pot, and white nationalism reflects ongoing debates about national identity, the impact of cultural diversity, and the evolving demographics of the United States.

2.3.2. The US Society through the Salad Bowl Theory

The theory on the formation of American society and culture was that the different immigrant groups would be molded in a homogenous community of tolerance and mutual respect in what is known as the melting pot theory. However, the reality of the situation became more of a salad bowl. The salad bowl theory is a concept that is often associated with multiculturalism. It makes the comparison between the American society and a salad bowl composed of different ingredients that can maintain their individual characteristics (Wulandari 3). The cultural differences between the ethnic groups existing in the United States are much too different to be molded into one culture. Each ethnic group is prideful of their origin, language, religion and culture to accept Americanization.

The Salad Bowl theory differs from the Melting Pot theory in that it allows for the preservation of individuality and independence among ethnic groups rather than assimilating into the dominant culture. The Salad Bowl theory acknowledges and respects the coexistence of various cultures side by side with the dominant culture. The expectation of minorities to assimilate into the dominant culture is not unrealistic but by getting rid of programs that are intended to assist minority groups, it creates a precedent for legislation that discriminates against them. The Melting Pot theory overlooks the impact of local contexts on the behavior of majority and minority groups, and its effect on acculturation (Berray 143-144). Immigrants usually aim to integrate into their new society, but challenges in doing so do not always stem from their refusal to adapt or fear of losing cultural values.

Therefore, The Salad Bowl theory is a more inclusive and respectful approach to multiculturalism that recognizes and appreciates the diverse cultural identities of different ethnic groups, as opposed to the assimilation approach of the Melting Pot theory that fails to consider the unique challenges faced by minority groups in acculturation. In exploring the dynamics of multiculturalism, it is found that only three classes of social structure are possible in equilibrium: assimilation, segregation, and multiculturalism. In multicultural equilibria, individuals play their type-specific cultural activities, but all coordinate on common non-cultural activities, and this allows individuals to form ties with all others, regardless of type (Reich and Advani 2). The existence of shared non-cultural practices allows interaction between disparate groups who maintain distinct cultures, highlighting the significance of both cultural diversity and shared experiences in the fabric of a multicultural society

2.4. Crashes for a Unified Identity in the Country

2.4.1. Americanness between Proponents and Opponents

The question of what it means to be an American has been an ongoing debate throughout the history of the United States. While the country was founded on the idea of liberty, democracy, and equality, defining who is included in the political community has been a complex and often-contentious issue. One of the challenges in defining American identity is that it is not based on a single culture or ancestry, but rather a diverse range of cultures and ethnicities that have contributed to the fabric of American society. This has led to a variety of competing ideas about what it means to be American, including ideas of individualism, egalitarianism, patriotism, and multiculturalism. Furthermore, the boundaries of American identity have shifted over time, as the country has gone through periods of immigration, war, social and political upheaval, and demographic change (Schildkraut 442). Despite the challenges, the country's commitment to liberty, democracy, and equality remains a guiding principle that continues to shape its evolving sense of self.

The term "identity politics" is widely used in contemporary political discourse to describe a range of phenomena, from civil rights and women's movements to multiculturalism, LGBTQI activism, separatist groups, white nationalism, and ethnic conflicts. It is a term that is used both in scholarly debates and in public discourse to understand and make sense of these diverse political movements and issues. Identity politics emerged in the United States in the aftermath of the 1960s. At that time, the civil rights movement was advocating for equal treatment of black people, leading to legal changes that established the principle of equal rights for all individuals. Despite these legal protections, however, Black Americans and Native Americans, who had been historically marginalized, have continued to struggle to gain meaningful recognition and respect in American society (Nishiyama 143-144).In short, the term "identity politics" describes a range of contemporary political movements and issues, and has

been used in both scholarly and public debates. Despite legal protections established during the civil rights movement, marginalized groups such as black Americans and Native Americans still struggle to gain recognition and respect in American society.

The concept of Americanness has been the subject of ongoing debate, with proponents and opponents offering different perspectives on what it means to be American. Proponents of Americanness argue that the country was founded on a set of shared ideals, such as democracy, freedom, and equality, which form the basis of American identity. They argue that to be American is not about ethnicity, race, or religion, but rather about a commitment to these shared ideals and the willingness to contribute to the country's success. Opponents of Americanness, however, argue that the concept is exclusionary and reinforces a dominant culture that privileges certain groups over others (Warikoo and Bloemraad 2-3).They argue that the idea of Americanness has been used to justify the exclusion and marginalization of minority groups and that it perpetuates a myth of national homogeneity that erases the diverse experiences and contributions of different groups. Instead, the white race is the dominant race and it is one above all ethnic groups; a definition strongly defended by white nationalists or white supremacists (ADL 4).

The coming of the twentieth century brought about many changes to politics. The turn of the century is connected to the rise of liberal democracy and the rise of union with the focus on economic justice for all. However, by the end of the civil rights movement in the 1960's, a new form of conflict began revolving around human rights bring forth the question of belonging to the nation. African Americans demanded equal rights to whites as Americans. This raised the question at the core of identity politics in the United States of America, "what does it mean to be American?" The feminist movement emerged shortly after the civil rights movement and aimed to achieve equal treatment for women. The increasing number of women in the labor market influenced this movement. Along with this, a social revolution occurred that challenged

traditional norms related to sexuality and family. Additionally, the environmental movement affected attitudes towards nature. Over the following years, other social movements emerged that aimed to promote the rights of marginalized groups, including the disabled, Native Americans, immigrants, and the LGBTQ+ community, eventually including transgender individuals (Fukuyama 7-8).The mounting pressure lead to the left embracing identity politics resulting in a multicultural and liberal society.

2.4.2. White Nationalists Perception of Racial Composition of the US Society

In recent years, the changing racial composition of American society has become a topic of concern for certain individuals and groups who hold steadfast beliefs in the supremacy of the white race and aim to uphold or expand white power in society. For them, the demographic shifts pose a direct threat to their worldview and goals. With the growing diversity of the American population, they fear a potential erosion of their ability to maintain a white-dominated society, resulting in a loss of power and privilege traditionally associated with their racial group. These concerns stem from a deep-rooted apprehension that a shift in racial dynamics could disrupt the established social hierarchy and challenge their perceived superiority. Moreover, they worry about the dilution or displacement of their cultural heritage, language, and customs, perceiving the preservation of their racial and cultural identity as essential to safeguarding their status and way of life (Boyle 2).

The concept of whiteness has been used historically to justify racism and discrimination against non-white groups in American society. Whiteness has been defined in opposition to blackness and other non-white identities, creating a system of privilege and power that benefits white people at the expense of people of color. Those who subscribe to this view may see efforts to promote diversity and inclusion as a threat to their worldview and seek to resist or undermine these efforts. Racism is not just a matter of individual beliefs or actions, but is also built into the structures and institutions of society. Understanding the dynamic and socially constructed

nature of whiteness is crucial for addressing the root causes of racism and promoting diversity and inclusion in American society (DiAngelo 56). The perception of white nationalists on the changing racial composition of American society is shaped by their belief in the superiority of the white race and their commitment to maintaining white power and privilege, which they see as being threatened by demographic and social changes.

2.5. Factors behind the Ongoing of White Nationalism in the USA

In recent years, there has been a troubling resurgence of white nationalism in the United States. White nationalist groups, which advocate for a white ethno state and view non-white individuals as inferior, have become increasingly visible and emboldened in their rhetoric and actions. This resurgence can be attributed to a variety of factors, including the rise of nationalist and populist movements around the world, economic insecurity and inequality, and the spread of conspiracy theories and misinformation on social media. The consequences of this resurgence have been dire, with an increase in hate crimes, political polarization, and a threat to the foundations of American democracy. The resurgence of white nationalism in the United States has been attributed to several factors. One of the main drivers is the changing demographics of the country, with the population becoming more diverse and the white majority feeling threatened. Many white nationalists view immigration as a threat to the country's identity and believe that the influx of immigrants, especially those from non-European countries, is eroding traditional American values (Tsukamoto and Fiske 1-3). They see themselves as defenders of the white race and are motivated by a desire to maintain their perceived dominance. The restriction of documentation linked to white nationalists and immigration issue push the present dissertation analysis to provide instead a general public opinion concerning the same topic since the first category of citizens is included in the second one and further details are present in the following figure.

Fig. 2. Public Opinion on Immigration as a Good or Bad thing US 2005-2022
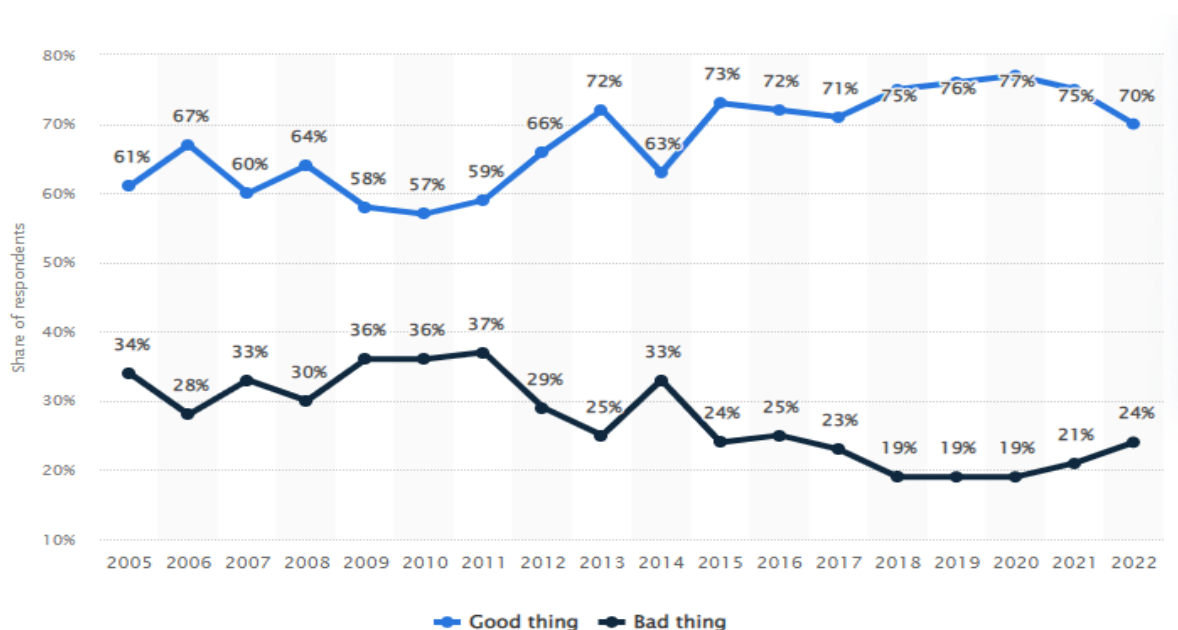
Source: Statista Research Department. 2022. https://shorturl.at/aeSUX

The graph displays the changing public opinion on whether immigration is perceived as a good or bad thing in the United States from 2005 to 2022. From 2005 to 2010, the percentage of people who viewed immigration as a positive thing remained relatively stable, ranging between 57% and 61%. However, there was a slight dip in 2008 when it reached 58%. During this period, the percentage of people who held negative views about immigration varied between 28% and 36%, with the highest point being 36% in 2006.In the following years, from 2011 to 2015, the positive sentiment towards immigration experienced some fluctuations. The percentage of people who considered immigration as a good thing ranged from 59% to 66%. The lowest point during this period was in 2013 when it reached 59%. Conversely, the negative perspective on immigration ranged from 29% to 37%, with the highest point being 37% in 2012.From 2016 to 2022, the positive sentiment towards immigration generally increased. The percentage of people viewing immigration as a good thing rose steadily, reaching its peak at

77% in 2022. Conversely, the negative sentiment towards immigration declined over this period, reaching its lowest point at 19% in 2022.

Another factor that has contributed to the resurgence of white nationalism is the rise of social media and the internet. These platforms have provided a way for white nationalists to connect with each other, spread their message, and recruit new members. Online forums and chat rooms allow white nationalists to share their views anonymously and form networks that span the country. Social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter have also been used to organize rallies and events, as well as to spread propaganda and disinformation (Udupa 3149). The rise of social media and the internet has played a significant role in fueling the resurgence of white nationalism, enabling white nationalists to easily connect, disseminate their ideology, recruit supporters, and spread their divisive messages through online platforms, leading to the amplification of their influence and impact.

Finally, the failure of mainstream political parties and institutions to address the concerns of working-class white Americans has also contributed to the resurgence of white nationalism. Many white nationalists feel left behind by globalization and the changing economy, and they see the political establishment as not representing their interests. The disillusionment felt by many white Americans towards the government stems from several key factors. One significant factor is the support shown by a majority of white voters without a college education for political figures who have advocated for policies that involve significant cutbacks in healthcare benefits, such as reduced access for marginalized groups and reductions in social assistance programs like food stamps and Medicaid. These policy decisions have left many feeling neglected and underserved by the government. This sense of disenchantment also reflects a deeper issue related to the challenges of integrating the white working class into a broader coalition for social development. The complexities of race, class, and access to resources intersect in ways that perpetuate a perception of a divided society, further contributing

to the disillusionment among white Americans regarding their role and representation within the government (Palley 174). This sense of disillusionment and alienation has made them more receptive to the messages of white nationalist groups, who promise to protect their interests and restore their way of life.

2.6. Reflections of White Nationalism or Supremacy on the US Society

The ideologies of white nationalism and white supremacy have had a significant impact on American society, both historically and in the present day. These ideologies promote the belief in the superiority of white people and seek to maintain white dominance in society. This has resulted in discrimination and oppression against people of color, as well as the perpetuation of racist attitudes and beliefs. The effects of white nationalism and supremacy are seen not only in individual acts of violence and hate crimes, but also in systemic racism and inequalities that persist in various aspects of American life, including the criminal justice system, education, and employment. Understanding the impact of white nationalism and supremacy on American society is crucial for addressing the ongoing struggles for racial justice and equity.

2.6.1. Racism: Civil Rights Movement

Racism in the United States is a complex and multifaceted issue that has shaped the country's history, culture, and social dynamics. From the genocide of Indigenous peoples to the enslavement of Africans and their forced labor in the agricultural and industrial sectors, racism has been deeply rooted in American history. Even after the abolition of slavery and the civil rights movement, racial inequality persists in various forms, such as segregation, discrimination, and unequal access to education and economic opportunities. The systemic nature of racism in the United States is evident in the disproportionate impacts it has on communities of color, including higher rates of poverty, lower life expectancies, and greater exposure to environmental hazards (Guess 670). Additionally, the legacy of racism has had a

profound impact on the country's cultural and political landscape, shaping debates around immigration, affirmative action, and the criminal justice system. Despite the persistence of racism, there have been ongoing efforts to address and combat it. These include grassroots activism, legislative measures such as the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, and public awareness campaigns. However, progress has been slow and uneven, with backlash and resistance from some segments of society (Clair and Denis 858). As the United States becomes increasingly diverse, it is crucial to confront and address the issue of racism. Failure to do so not only perpetuates injustice but also undermines the country's democratic values and the principles of equality and fairness.

The Civil Rights Movement was a pivotal moment in American history that aimed to secure equal rights and legal protections for Black Americans. The movement emerged in the 1950s, fueled by the deep-seated racism and segregation that existed in many parts of the country. It was a coordinated effort by civil rights activists, organizations, and supporters to challenge the status quo and demand justice for Black Americans. The movement was characterized by a series of nonviolent protests, boycotts, and acts of civil disobedience that were met with violence and resistance from white supremacists and law enforcement. Many notable figures emerged during this time, including Martin Luther King Jr., who became a leading voice for the movement and advocated for nonviolent resistance. Other leaders and organizations, such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party, took more militant approaches to achieve their goals. The Civil Rights Movement achieved many significant victories, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Weinblatt 4). These laws ended legal segregation and ensured that all Americans had the right to vote regardless of race

2.6.2. Islamophobia

The term "Islamophobia" is a recent term that combines "Islam" and "phobia." "Phobia" refers to an intense and irrational fear or aversion towards a specific object, class of objects, or situation. Phobias are a type of anxiety disorder typically triggered by a previous threatening experience. The term "Islamophobia" was first introduced in a 1991 report by the Runnymede Trust, where it was defined as an unfounded hostility towards Muslims and a generalized fear or dislike of the majority or all Muslims. This term was coined within the context of Muslims in the United Kingdom, as well as Europe in general, and drew inspiration from the more commonly used framework of "xenophobia. «Islamophobia refers to the feelings of fear, hatred, or hostility that are specifically targeted towards Islam as a religion and Muslims as its followers. The term "Islamophobia" encompasses a wide range of negative attitudes, from personal anti-Islam views to societal discrimination against Muslims. It is often used as a comprehensive term, similar to other derogatory labels like homophobia or anti-Semitism, to address various forms of discrimination against different groups of people (Bendjebara 17).

The presence of Muslims plays a crucial role in this form of racism that operates without overt racists. Since Muslims are not defined by a specific race, it becomes possible to conceive and carry out various discriminatory actions and acts of violence against them. By virtue of not being a race, the systematic injustices inflicted upon Muslims cannot be attributed to racial motives. Consequently, the subjugation of Muslims does not fit the definition of racism. The acceptance of Western dominance, which comes as a result of fighting for racial equality, may be postponed indefinitely. Through the use of orientalism, where Islam has historically been portrayed as a contrast to the West's positive aspects, the negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims indirectly praises everything that is deemed Western. Islamophobia has been dismissed as an issue and even justified as a reasonable reaction to perceived threats against

Western, and even universal, values. It has been argued that Islamophobia is not as disgraceful as racism but rather a logical response to legitimate concerns (Sayyid 3).

Although the period following 9/11 is often associated with a rise in Islamophobia and mistreatment of Muslims in Western countries, numerous scholars argue that the roots of Islamophobia in the United States can be traced back even further to the 20th century. Love (2009) explains that Islamophobia in America originated from the political and media landscape of the 1970s, where depictions of Middle Eastern figures like "oil sheikhs" or Iranian terrorists were prevalent. These stereotypes and attitudes were commonly invoked in discussions related to US foreign policy involving countries such as Lebanon, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. This historical context and political climate played a significant role in the subsequent racialization of Muslims following the events of 9/11 (Levi3). The attacks on September 11th, 2001 triggered a fresh wave of discrimination, animosity, and violence towards Muslims and individuals of Middle Eastern descent living in the United States. More statistics are given by figure 3.

Fig.3. Anti-Muslim Assaults Exceed 2001 Total
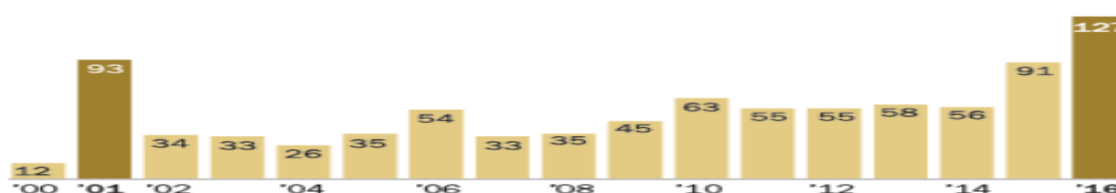
Source: Kishi, Katayoun. "Assaults Against Muslims in U.S. Surpass 2001 Level."

Pew Research Center, 2017. rb.gy/tgssf

The figure highlights that from 2000 to 2001 there was a notable spike in hate crimes against Muslims, with a drastic increase from 12 incidents to 93 incidents. This sharp rise can be attributed to the September 11th terrorist attacks in 2001, which had a significant impact on public sentiment and fueled anti-Muslim sentiments. Following the initial surge, the number of

hate crimes fluctuates over the years but remains relatively elevated compared to pre-9/11 levels. The data shows varying levels of hate crimes, ranging from 26 to 63 incidents per year, during the period from 2002 to 2009. Starting from 2010, there is a general upward trend in hate crimes against Muslims, with the number surpassing 50 incidents annually. The highest peak is observed in 2016, with 127 reported hate crimes against Muslims. This increase in hate crimes may be influenced by factors such as heightened political rhetoric, global events, and the rise of online extremism and most notably the election of Donald Trump.

2.6.3. Unemployment Disparity for Minorities

Unemployment and race have a complex and interconnected relationship in the United States. According to data from the Economic Policy Institute, people of color experience significantly higher rates of unemployment than white Americans. In 2016, the unemployment rate for Black Americans was more than twice that of white Americans, with a rate of 8.4% compared to 4.2%. Similarly, the unemployment rate for Hispanic Americans was 5.8%, while the rate for white Americans was 4.2%. These disparities are deeply rooted in systemic racism and discrimination in the workplace (Adjeiwaa-Manu 2).

Among the main reasons for those disparities is the lack of access to quality education and job training for people of color. Many communities of color lack the resources and support needed to succeed in the job market, such as access to affordable education and training programs. Additionally, discriminatory hiring practices and workplace policies can make it difficult for people of color to secure employment and advance in their careers. These factors contribute to the persistent disparities in unemployment rates between white Americans and people of color (2).

The effects of unemployment on people of color can be devastating, with long-term consequences for their health, well-being, and financial stability. Unemployment can lead to a

range of negative outcomes, such as increased poverty, homelessness, and mental health issues. The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted these disparities, with people of color experiencing higher rates of job loss and financial hardship than white Americans do (3). Addressing these disparities will require systemic change and a commitment to dismantling racism and discrimination in all aspects of American society.

2.7. Major White Supremacist Groups in the United States

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is a white supremacist organization that has been active in the United States in the aftermath of the Civil War (1865). According to a study by economist Roland Fryer, the KKK has historically been driven not only by ideology, but also by the pursuit of profit. The KKK has engaged in a range of criminal activities, including extortion, robbery, and even murder, as a means of generating income for its members. The group has also been known to exploit its members, using fear and intimidation to force them to make financial contributions. The KKK has targeted African Americans, Jews, and other minorities throughout its history, using violence and intimidation to maintain white supremacy (Fryer and Levitt 1-4). Despite being widely condemned and marginalized, the KKK has maintained a presence in the United States, and has experienced resurgence in recent years, fueled by the rise of far-right extremism and white nationalism as clarifies in figure 4.

Fig.4. the Course of the Modern KU KLUS KLAN
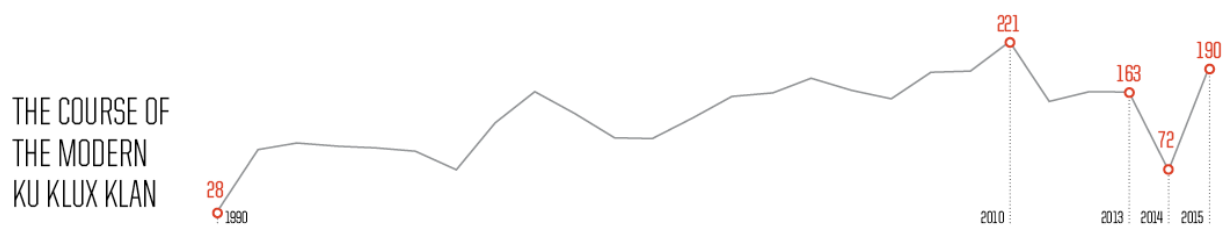
Source: SPLC. "Active Hate Crime Groups in the United States in 2015." 2016. rb.gy/sekph

The graph illustrates the course of the modern Ku Klux Klan (KKK) hate group over a specific period. In 1990, the graph shows a relatively low number of 28 active hate groups associated with the modern KKK. However, there was a significant increase in the following years, with 221 active hate groups reported in 2010, indicating a substantial rise in their presence. In 2013, the number of active hate groups decreased to 163, suggesting a temporary decline. The decline continued in 2014, with only 72 active hate groups reported. However, in 2015, the number rose again to 190 active hate groups associated with the modern KKK.

The ideology of the Klan revolved around two main issues: the fear and perceived threat posed by non-white minorities. The Klan strongly believed that its members were constantly under threat from a malevolent Jewish conspiracy, viewing Jewish people as malevolent beings that posed a danger to their principles through illicit schemes. This perception stemmed from the belief that a Jewish individual betrayed Jesus Christ, as mentioned in the Biblical Testament. With the objective of safeguarding the lives of white Americans and seeking retribution against their adversaries, the Klan emerged and nurtured itself (Benredouane 13-14). Central to the Klan's convictions is the notion that employing violence is justified in order to protect white America. The Klan's ideology encompasses political, religious, and racial tenets.

The Ku Klux Klan employed a variety of symbols, one of the most well-known being the cross enclosed within a circle, with a central "blood drop." According to their own interpretation, this cross symbolized the bloodshed of Jesus Christ as a sacrificial act for the White Aryan Race. Another significant symbol utilized by the KKK was the cross wheel, which served to reference the Klan's original name, Kuklos, meaning "circle." The cross wheel additionally emphasized the unity and movement of the Ku Klux Klan, while also serving as a symbol of hatred. Furthermore, the KKK employed the abbreviation O.R.I.O.N, representing the phrase "our race is our nation." Additionally, the Klan embraced the fourteen words, which declared the imperative of ensuring the preservation of their people and securing a future for

white children. They also adopted five words, serving as a code of silence to evade potential legal repercussions, which conveyed the message "I have nothing to say."(Benredouane 21-22)

The Aryan Brotherhood is a violent white supremacist prison gang that has been active since the 1960s. According to a report by the Anti-Defamation League, the group is known for its extreme racism and hatred towards Jews, African Americans, and other minorities. The Aryan Brotherhood has been involved in a range of criminal activities, including drug trafficking, extortion, and murder. The group's membership is primarily made up of white, male prisoners who share the ideology of white supremacy and have committed to carrying out violent acts to further their agenda. Despite being founded in prison, the Aryan Brotherhood has since spread to the outside world, with affiliated groups operating in communities throughout the United States (ADL 8-11). The group's violent and hateful rhetoric has led to it being designated as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center and other organizations that track extremist activity.

Prospective members of the Aryan Brotherhood (AB) must undergo a harrowing initiation process known as "making their bones," which often involves brutal attacks or even murder of rival gang members or assaults on corrections officers. The gang's motto, "blood in, blood out," signifies that once someone joins the AB, the only way to leave is through death. As part of their induction, new members are often required to study Hitler's Mein Kampf, as well as works like Sun Tzu's The Art of War and Machiavelli's The Prince. Many AB members also embrace Asatru, a neo-Pagan version of pre-Christian Odinism practiced by ancient Viking warriors, who they see themselves as. These beliefs align with their perception of themselves as destined for Valhalla (Southern Poverty Law Center 2).

During the 1970s, the California Department of Corrections observed a significant rise in racially motivated violence and gang-related activities. While not solely responsible for all reported incidents, the AB gained a reputation for its zero-tolerance policy towards disrespect

from other inmates. In an unexpected turn, the AB formed a truce with the Mexican Mafia, a notorious racist prison gang, to confront their common rival, La Nuestra Familia, a Latino gang. This early instance highlighted the AB's inclination towards profit over ideological purity. By 1975, the Aryan Brotherhood had expanded its influence throughout California state prisons and seized the opportunity to extend its reach into the federal penitentiary system when high-ranking leaders were incarcerated. Consequently, the organization split into the California AB and the federal system AB, maintaining a partnership as two related but distinct criminal families. The group experienced growth, with hundreds of new members recruited, including racist skinhead gangs. Presently, estimates suggest that the AB has approximately 20,000 members in both state and federal prisons (Southern Poverty Law Center5).

The National Socialist movement, also known as neo-Nazism, is a fringe far-right extremist ideology that promotes white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and other forms of hate that original stems from Germany. The movement has been responsible for numerous hate crimes, acts of domestic terrorism, and violent clashes with counter-protesters. The movement has faced opposition from civil rights organizations, anti-fascist groups, and law enforcement agencies, who have worked to monitor and disrupt their activities (Keum et al. 45-46). Despite efforts to combat the National Socialist movement, it remains a persistent threat to social cohesion and democratic values in the United States.

In the United States, The National Socialist Movement (NSM) manifests as the largest neo-Nazi group. However, even though the group has had the same leader for almost twenty years, it hasn't been able to attract a large number of followers. It consistently has a few hundred members. In 2009, the group changed its clothing style from Nazi brown shirts to black fatigue-like outfits with NSM symbols. During rallies, the members wear black pants and shirts, and they often carry banners or shields with the group's symbols, including a swastika and the NSM logo. While the NSM has members across the United States, the Northeast region currently has

the most local units, which is different from the group's historical presence in the Midwest and South (Anti-Defamation League 1-3).

The National Socialist Movement (NSM) openly admires Hitler and is one of the more explicitly neo-Nazi groups in the United States. However, it has its own Americanized and modernized version rather than being an exact replica of the Third Reich. Their platform promotes a vision of a white-dominated "greater America" where non-whites, Jews, and homosexuals would be denied citizenship and basic legal protections. The NSM primarily directs its hate towards Jews and immigrants, exhibiting crude racism and anti-Semitism. The NSM's ideology, outlined in "The 25 Points of the National Socialist Movement of America," reflects a self-centered philosophy. These points advocate for the cessation of tax and loan interest collection, U.S. withdrawal from international organizations, and the establishment of a white nation. However, these points have no connection to principles of justice or democracy. In the envisioned nation, only white individuals would be granted citizenship, considering Jews and homosexuals as non-white. Non-citizens would have no access to government, healthcare, education, or financial institutions. Immigration would be permitted, but solely for white immigrants (Anti-Defamation League 45-48). Figure 5 highlights the evolvement of Neo-Nazi groups from 2003 to 2015.

Fig.5. Neo-Nazi Groups 2003-2015
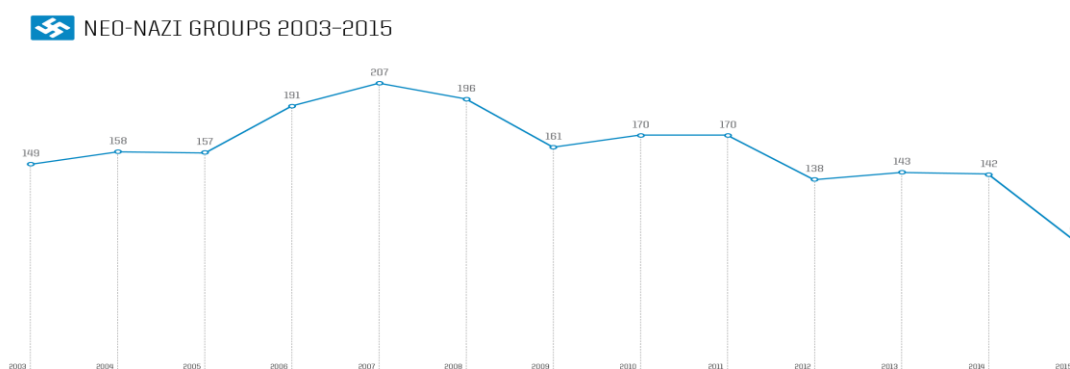
Source: SPLC. "Active Hate Crime Groups in the United States in 2015." 2016. rb.gy/sekph

The graph depicts the number of neo-Nazi hate groups from 2003 to 2015. In 2003, there were 149 reported hate groups, and this figure slightly increased to 158 in 2004. However, the number dipped to 157 in 2005 before experiencing a significant upturn in 2006 with 191 hate groups. The trend continued to rise in 2007, reaching 207 hate groups. Subsequently, there was a slight decrease in 2008 to 196 groups. In 2009, the number further declined to 161 hate groups. The years 2010 and 2011 saw a steady figure of 170 hate groups each. However, a decrease was observed in 2012 with 138 groups. The following year, 2013, showed a slight increase to 143 hate groups, while 2014 remained relatively stable with 142 groups. Finally, there was a substantial decline in 2015, recording only 94 neo-Nazi hate groups.

In conclusion, the topic of Americanness and identity has been a contentious issue in the United States, with some citizens advocating for maintaining their unique cultural identities while others emphasize the importance of assimilation into a common American identity. This has been complicated by the ongoing resurgence of white nationalism and white supremacy, which promote the belief in the superiority of white people and seek to maintain white dominance in society. The impact of these ideologies on American society can be seen in various social and economic spheres, including racism, discrimination, and inequalities that persist despite progress towards greater equality. The reflections of white nationalism and supremacy on American society are particularly pronounced in terms of social and economic factors. The civil rights movement and Islamophobia are examples of social issues that have been impacted by these ideologies, perpetuating discriminatory attitudes and behaviors towards people of color and religious minorities. Economically, the issue of minority unemployment has been affected by these ideologies, with statistics indicating that racial and ethnic minorities experience higher rates of unemployment compared to white Americans.

In addition to these broader reflections, major white nationalist organizations or groups have also played a significant role in perpetuating these ideologies and promoting their agendas.

The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Brotherhood, National Socialist Group, and American Renaissance are some of the most well-known white nationalist groups in the United States, each with their own unique histories, ideologies, and methods of promoting their agendas. Overall, the impact of white nationalism and white supremacy on American society is a complex and ongoing issue that requires ongoing efforts to address and combat. This includes promoting greater understanding and awareness of the issue, working towards greater social and economic equality, and confronting the ideologies and actions of white nationalist organizations and groups.

Chapter Three

Trump Presidency as an Empirical Image for the Clash of White Nationalists and

Ethnic Groups

During the presidency of Donald J. Trump, the "America First" policy emerged as a central theme in his administration's domestic and foreign policy agenda. Trump campaigned on the promise to prioritize American interests over those of other countries, which he claimed had been neglected by previous administrations. The "America First" policy sought to reassert US dominance in trade, national security, and immigration by advocating for protectionist measures, limiting foreign aid, and renegotiating trade deals to benefit American businesses and workers. However, this policy also sparked controversy, with critics arguing that it undermined America's global leadership and promoted isolationism.

In recent years, social media has become an integral part of political campaigns and discourse in the United States. In the 2016 election cycle, then-candidate Donald Trump utilizing various social media platforms to reach and mobilize his supporters. However, the impact of social media on Trump's victory and the subsequent political polarization in the US remains a subject of debate among scholars, politicians, and the public.

3.1. Nationalist Policies during Trump Presidency

The election of Donald Trump as President of the United States in 2016 is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that has been attributed to a variety of factors. Some political analysts point to the disillusionment and frustration felt by many Americans with the political establishment and the perceived failure of traditional politicians to address pressing social and economic issues. Trump's outsider status and willingness to challenge conventional political norms appealed to these voters, particularly in regions that had been hard hit by economic stagnation and job losses. Others have highlighted the role of Trump's populist rhetoric, which

emphasized nationalist themes and promised to "make America great again." Trump's message resonated with a significant portion of the electorate who felt that the political elite had neglected their interests and that their cultural identity was under threat from globalization and multiculturalism (Fuchs 3). The election of Donald Trump was the result of a confluence of factors, including a widespread sense of disenchantment with the political status quo, a populist message that appealed to certain segments of the electorate, and a perceptive use of social media to energize supporters and bypass traditional media channels.

The 2015 electoral campaign of Donald Trump was prominently characterized by a nationalist stance. The nationalist policies pursued by the Trump administration are comprised of a series of measures and initiatives that prioritized American interests over those of the international community, particularly in the domains of trade, immigration, and foreign relations. These policies were distinguished by a pronounced emphasis on American exceptionalism, a protectionist stance towards economic matters, and a rigorous position on issues pertaining to immigration and national security. The Trump administration's nationalist agenda sparked significant discourse and contention both domestically and globally.

3.1.1. The "America First" Policy

Donald Trump's 2016 victory in the presidential elections is often characterized as controversial. Initially, the discussion revolved around the reasons behind the significant support from millions of Americans for a Republican candidate who was highly controversial, provocative, anti-establishment, and atypical. However, the current debate has shifted towards the fundamental nature of Trump's presidency and how his decisions and policies might influence America's position in global affairs and, more broadly, the liberal international order. Although foreign policy matters were not extensively addressed during the election, President Trump took several actions shortly after assuming office that drew attention and sparked discussions (Dimitrova 33).

"America First" is a political slogan that became popular during the 2016 United States Presidential election. The phrase "America First" has a history that predates the recent presidency of Donald Trump, having been previously used by former President Woodrow Wilson. However, Trump's adoption of the phrase is distinctive for its emphasis on economic nationalism, which places the interests of the American people and economy at the forefront of policymaking. Moreover, the Trump administration's rejection of international agreements and institutions, such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Paris Climate Agreement, reinforces the notion of America as a self-reliant and independent nation (Leffler and Hitchcock 33). Trump's use of the "America First" slogan represents a departure from traditional forms of international cooperation and a shift towards a more nationalist and protectionist stance. The America First policy was central to shaping the Trump administration's agenda and was reflected in the various positions taken at the time of his tenure.

Donald Trump's words carried a profound implication that the United States' foreign policy was in disarray and necessitated restraint, as his "America First" approach sought to reject the globalist ideology embedded in the postwar agreement. By doing so, he aimed to redefine America's role in the world, restore its exceptional origins, and assert its sovereignty in the 21st century, provoking both support and criticism while leaving an indelible mark on the nation's foreign policy landscape (Edwards 177).

3.1.2. Reflections of the Policy

3.1.2.1. On Trade

The Trump administration made significant changes to US economic policy, with a focus on improving the American economy and ensuring fair global trade standards. This was reflected in Trump's implementation of tariffs, renegotiation of trade agreements, and adjustments to foreign policy. The President's controversial "America First" policy was a key

part of his economic agenda, which aimed to make the US more self-sufficient and less reliant on international trade. While some praised this approach for boosting the US economy, others criticized it as being overly protectionist. Additionally, some saw the "America First" policy as a way to achieve not only economic independence but also military superiority.

The United States has relied heavily on trade theory as a significant part of its international economic strategy. Different administrations over the long history of the United States, took different stances on trade strategy going back and forth between indorsing free global trade and domestic goods promotion through the use of tariffs. Tariffs are an essential tool for trade that countries, including the United States, rely on heavily. These taxes are imposed on goods imported into a country, and they help to regulate trade and stabilize the domestic economy by controlling the prices of imports (Jeffers 4-6). This is especially important since the cost of imported goods can fluctuate significantly due to changes in international prices.

During trump's tenure, he imposed very heavy tariffs on imported goods for the purpose of protecting domestic businesses and manufacturing in accordance with his promise to put American interests first. In January 2018, the United States implemented protective tariffs and import quotas on washing machines and solar panels, ranging from 20 to 50 percent. In addition, the import of steel and aluminum to the US was subjected to tariffs of 25% and 10% respectively by the US government. These decisions severely affected the United States' trade relation with allies such as the European Union as they were left with no other choice but to implement their own tariffs. However, Trump still managed to maintain bilateral relations with some countries through custom exemptions, effectively driving a wedge between them, hence maintaining a semblance of power (Daniels 1-2). Trump's imposition of heavy tariffs on imported goods aimed to protect domestic businesses and manufacturing and put American interests first, but it had severe impacts on trade relations with allies such as the European Union.

While the various tariffs implemented by the United States were very harmful to the European Union, it soon became evident they were intended to harm the United States' fiercest economic competitor, china. Between 2018 and 2019, the United States raised tariffs on a large number of products imported from China, with the total value of the goods being targeted reaching around $350 billion. In response, China also imposed tariffs on approximately $100 billion worth of exports from the United States. In January 2020, both sides agreed to stop increasing tariffs any further, but the existing tariffs remained in effect as of 2021. The United States levied tariffs on 67% of intermediate inputs and capital goods imported from China, while China responded by imposing tariffs on 67% of intermediate and capital goods imported from the US (Fajgelbaum and Khandelwal 1-3). The trade war between the two countries resulted in significant tariff increases on products imported from each other. Although they agreed to stop increasing tariffs, the existing ones remained in place as of 2021, affecting a large percentage of intermediate and capital goods traded between the two countries.

During his campaign, Donald Trump emphasized three themes in trade policy. He placed importance on trade balances, including bilateral trade balances, and viewed the United States' $500 billion merchandise trade deficit, with half of it being with China, as a major challenge. To reduce the trade deficit, Trump relied on the implementation of tariffs. This emphasis on trade balances and bilateral trade deficits led to a renegotiation of trade deals with countries such as Canada, Mexico, and South Korea. However, the consequences of these actions had a significant effect on the United States economy as different countries retaliated with tariffs on American products and exports (Noland 262-263). Overall, Trump's efforts to reduce the trade deficit through tariffs had a significant impact on the United States economy and global trade relations, resulting in both positive and negative consequences.

3.1.2.2. On Immigration

During the Trump administration, immigration policies and acts were at the forefront of political discourse. The Trump administration was known for its hardline stance on immigration, particularly on undocumented immigrants. Trump's immigration policies and acts were aimed at curbing illegal immigration and reducing the number of legal immigrants in the United States. One of the main points Trump made during his campaign is his desire to undo all that his predecessor accomplished. Trump was very vocal in his criticism of multiple policies and programs put into place. One of the main points he honed in on is the United States' stance on immigration.

Among The main programs targeted by trump is the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. The DACA program, which began in 2012, has gained a lot of attention. It helps young people who came to the United States as children and who do not have legal immigration status. These young people are often called Dreamers, and DACA gives them protection from being deported and allows them to work legally in the country (Bruno 1). Trump, immediately upon his election, announced his rescinding of the DACA initiative and demanded that Congress devise an alternative plan for DACA within six months, after which he would initiate the gradual elimination of the DACA safeguards. The announcement sparked controversy and sent wave serge of protests across the country. In answer to the objection faced trump bargained the restoration of the program in exchange of the funding of the border wall between the US and Mexico (Nguyen 31-37). The negotiations were highly contentious but eventually ended with the restoration of the program due to the intervention of the senate.

3.2. Criticism of Trump's "American First" Policy

As the initial period of Trump's presidency progressed, it became clear that the concerns and anxieties of the American people regarding his leadership were justified. While he was

criticized for many of his decisions, his "America first" stance regarding foreign policy is considered the most dangerous. The threat posed by Trump to the liberal order is particularly alarming due to his apparent lack of concern for the values and norms of liberal democracy. He has demonstrated a disregard for the rule of law and the Constitution, questioned the legitimacy of federal judges, and criticized the press. Every day, trump's actions attacked and devalued the essential elements of democratic political life, such as facts, evidence, scientific knowledge, reasoned discourse (Ikenberry 1-3).The danger in Trump's revisionism lies in its assault on the rationale that forms the foundation of the US's worldwide standing.

Since Donald Trump took office in January 2017, there has been a significant shift in US immigration policy, with a new focus on portraying immigration as a major threat to both national security and employment. This marks a departure from previous approaches to immigration. While Trump's desire to build the wall between the United States and Mexico is considered his most infamous and controversial act in relation to immigration, he has made several other decisions that profoundly influenced the lives of immigrants living in the United States. These decisions have included expanding the group of individuals who are targeted for deportation, reducing the number of refugees admitted into the country, making it harder for people to qualify for asylum, ending temporary protections for over a million immigrants who were able to work legally and avoid deportation, and slowing down the processing of visas. In the first year of the Trump administration, there were fewer border and interior removals than in previous administrations. Also, these actions caused many issues for the government as it needed to hire more personnel and immigration judges to oversee the removal of more illegal immigrants from the interior and the agencies did not have the capacity to see these new law brought to reality (pierce et al, 1-3). Overall, trump's "America first" policy negatively affected the United States in various fields from foreign relations, economy and immigration.

3.3. White Nationalists Position towards Trump's Policies

The position of white nationalists on the policies of former US President Donald Trump has been a subject of intense scrutiny and debate. While some have argued that Trump was merely pandering to the white nationalist movement for political gain, others believe that he was a genuine ally of the movement and actively sought to advance their agenda. One of the most significant policy areas that Trump championed was immigration (Astrada and Astrada 8). White nationalist support for former President Donald Trump's immigration policy can be attributed to his focus on limiting immigration and promoting a natives agenda. Trump's rhetoric often targeted immigrants from non-white countries, which resonated with white nationalists who prioritize the maintenance of white dominance and fear the perceived threat of demographic change.

Trump's policies, such as the travel ban on predominantly Muslim countries and the ending of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, were seen as efforts to protect the interests of white Americans and limit the perceived threat of non-white immigration. Additionally, Trump's calls for a border wall and increased immigration enforcement were seen as crucial steps in achieving a more ethnically homogenous society. White nationalists also saw Trump's rhetoric and policies as a validation of their beliefs and a step towards a more explicitly ethno nationalist society (Thompson 34-35). Overall, white nationalists embraced Trump's immigration policies because they aligned with their desire for a white-dominated society and their fear of non-white immigration.

White nationalists often view the media as an extension of the globalist elites who they believe are actively working to undermine the interests of white Americans. They perceive the media as a tool for spreading liberal, multicultural values and promoting the interests of non-white groups at the expense of white Americans. This perception of the media as an enemy of white nationalism was further reinforced by Trump's attacks on the media during his

presidency. Trump's rhetoric often dismissed media coverage critical of him as "fake news" and accused the media of being biased against him and his supporters. This rhetoric resonated with white nationalists who saw Trump's attacks on the media as a validation of their own beliefs and as a sign that their grievances against the media are heard. White nationalists' opposition to the media and support for Trump's hostile stance towards the media is rooted in their desire for a more populist, anti-establishment politics that they believe will better serve the interests of white Americans (Skey 839-843). White nationalists also saw Trump as an ally in their efforts to promote white identity and pride. Trump's rhetoric about "making America great again" and his focus on American nationalism resonated with the white nationalist movement. They saw Trump as a champion of their cause, someone who would fight for their interests and ensure that the white majority remained in power.

However, not all white nationalists were in agreement with Trump's policies. Some saw his administration as too soft on issues like affirmative action and diversity, which they saw as a threat to the dominance of the white majority. Others were critical of Trump's foreign policy, particularly his decision to launch missile strikes against Syria, which they saw as a betrayal of his "America first" agenda (Kwong 1).The impact of Trump's policies on the broader American society has been profound. His rhetoric and policies have emboldened white nationalists and other far-right groups, leading to a rise in hate crimes and racially motivated violence.

The position of white nationalists on Trump's policies was complex and multifaceted. While some saw him as a genuine ally of the movement, others were critical of his policies and actions. Regardless of their views on Trump, the impact of his administration on American society and the ongoing legacy of white nationalism in American politics will be felt for years to come. It is important for Americans of all backgrounds to recognize the dangers of white nationalism and to work towards a more inclusive and equitable society for all.

3.4. White Nationalism Close Testimony during Trump Presidency

3.4.1. Racist Rhetoric in Trump's Tweets as an Image of a White Nationalist

Throughout his presidency, Donald Trump was known for his divisive rhetoric, particularly in regards to issues of race and immigration. Many of his comments and tweets were criticized for being steeped in racism and discrimination, and an analysis of his public statements reveals a pattern of using language that reinforces harmful stereotypes and fuels racial tensions. One example of Trump's racist rhetoric is his frequent demonization of Muslims. The language used by trump not only stigmatizes immigrants but also contributes to a broader culture of fear and hatred towards non-white individuals. Some phrases are present in table 1.

Table 1. How D.T. Frames the USA Opposition to Muslims

US	Them	Dates
Must be Proactive	Loser Terrorist Sick and demented people	Sep 15, 2017
We are doing just fine	Destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism	Nov 28, 2017
We can't allow people the United States people that are not Muslim	Islam hates us. people coming into this country who have this hatred of the USA	March 9, 2016

Source: Merzoug, Zahra. "Racism in Donald Trump's Tweets: A Critical Discourse Analysis."University Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, 2019. https://shorturl.at/elnW4

In analyzing Trump's rhetoric in the provided table, several key points can be observed. Firstly, Trump employs strong language when referring to individuals he perceives as threats to the United States. Terms such as "loser," "terrorist," and "sick and demented people" convey a confrontational and negative view of those he considers enemies. On the other hand, when

discussing the United States itself, Trump presents a more positive tone, stating that "we are doing just fine." However, this positive portrayal is juxtaposed with the term "Destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism," implying a negative characterization of a specific group. Furthermore, Trump's rhetoric often emphasizes an "us versus them" mentality, as seen in his statement about not allowing people into the United States who are not Muslim, and asserting that "Islam hates us." These instances reflect a divisive narrative, drawing lines between different groups based on religion or perceived threats, and can contribute to polarization and tension within society.

Another example of Trump's racist rhetoric is his use of the phrase "America First." Although the phrase may seem innocuous, it has been historically associated with white nationalist and isolationist movements in America. The use of such language by the President of the United States normalizes and legitimizes extremist beliefs and attitudes, further dividing the country along racial lines. Perhaps one of the most egregious examples of Trump's racist rhetoric came in July 2019 when he tweeted those four Democratic congresswomen, all of whom are women of color, should "go back" to the countries they came from. This tweet was not only factually incorrect as all four women are American citizens, but it also echoed the racist notion that non-white people do not belong in America (Dwyer and Limbong). The racist rhetoric used by Donald Trump throughout his presidency contributed to a broader culture of intolerance and division in America. By perpetuating harmful stereotypes and using language that reinforces extremist beliefs and attitudes, Trump contributed to a climate of fear and hatred towards marginalized communities. As a society, it is important that US citizens recognize and reject this type of language and work towards creating a more inclusive and equitable future for all.

3.4.2. The Alt Right Movement

At the core of modern white supremacist ideology is the belief that the white race is facing extinction, threatened by a rising population of non-white individuals who are allegedly controlled and manipulated by Jews. White supremacists view nearly any means as justifiable if it contributes to "saving" the white race. The alt-right movement, which constitutes the newest segment of the white supremacist movement, has played a pivotal role in driving this resurgence (ADL 9). Primarily comprised of young men, the alt-right (an abbreviation of alternative right) injects new energy into the movement, although it has also introduced destabilizing elements similar to the racist skinheads of the 1980s and early 1990s.

The alt-right's white supremacist ideology is heavily influenced by various sources, including paleo conservatism, neo-Nazism, fascism, identitarianism, renegade conservatives, and right-wing conspiracy theorists. Additionally, the alt-right has developed its own distinct subculture, drawing from the misogynistic ideas of the so-called "manosphere" and online platforms like 4chan, 8chan, and Reddit. While the roots of the alt-right can be traced back to 2008, it was the entry of Donald Trump into the 2016 presidential race that greatly energized and mobilized the movement. The alt-right became actively involved in supporting Trump, which garnered media attention and further propelled their growth. The alt-right interpreted Trump's success in the November 2016 election as a triumph for their own movement (Hawley 12).

Following the election, the alt-right transitioned from online activism to real-world engagement by forming tangible groups and organizations, often targeting college campuses. Additionally, they expanded their online propaganda efforts, particularly through podcasting. However, increased media scrutiny, brought on by incidents like the violence in Charlottesville, led to internal dissension within the alt-right. Some extremists who did not explicitly advocate white supremacy, known as the "alt-lite," distanced themselves from the movement (ADL 45-

46). Although this backlash affected prominent alt-right figures, it did not result in an overall decline of the movement as some have suggested.

The ADL (Anti-Defamation League) H.E.A.T. (Hate Extremism Anti-Semitism, Terrorism) map provides a visual representation of the collective incidents related to hate, extremism, anti-Semitism, and terrorism that occurred in the United States and the anti-right movement was in direct relation with.

Map 1. ADL H.E.A.T. Map of Total Incidents during Trump Presidency
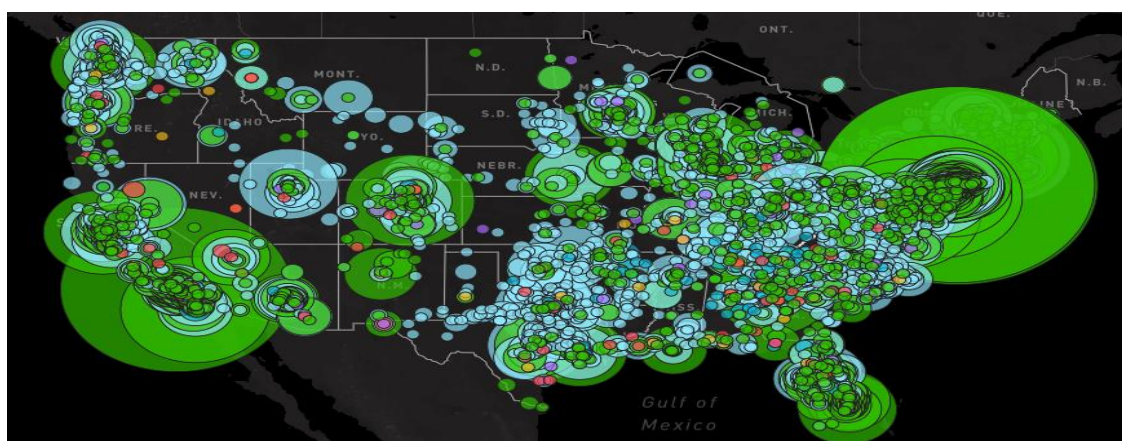
Anti-Semitic incidents	White Supremists Propaganda and Events	Extremists Murders

Source: *ADL.* https://www.adl.org/resources/tools-to-track-hate/heat-map

The map reveals significant patterns and trends during this period. Anti-Semitic incidents are depicted as the most prevalent, particularly in major cities such as New York, California, and Florida. These incidents demonstrate a concerning level of hatred and discrimination targeting the Jewish community. Additionally, smaller incidents of anti-Semitism are scattered across the country. The map also highlights the widespread distribution of white supremacist propaganda, which is more prevalent in the central regions of the country, particularly the South. This suggests that white supremacist ideologies were more deeply rooted in these areas

during the Trump presidency. Furthermore, extremist murders are spread throughout the country, spanning from the east to the west. This indicates that acts of terrorism and violence committed by extremists were not confined to specific regions but occurred nationwide.

3.4.3. Event in Charlottesville, Virginia, 2017

In the years leading up to the Charlottesville incident, the city had been undergoing a process of reevaluating its public displays of the Confederacy. In May 2016, the Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces was established through a resolution passed by city officials. This commission aimed to address the issue of Confederate memorials and their place in the public sphere. In February 2017, the Charlottesville City Council made a significant decision by voting to remove the statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee from Lee Park in downtown Charlottesville. These actions sparked intense controversy and opposition from various groups. In May 2017, Richard Spencer, a prominent figure in the white nationalist movement and a University of Virginia graduate, led a demonstration in downtown Charlottesville against the statue's removal. The protesters, carrying torches, gathered for about 10 minutes until they were dispersed by local police. The tension escalated further on July 8, 2017, when the Ku Klux Klan organized a rally in downtown Charlottesville, protesting the city's decision. Approximately 30 Klansmen were met with a massive counter-protest consisting of around 1,000 individuals. The police response to this event, involving officers from multiple jurisdictions, resulted in over 20 arrests. However, it was heavily criticized by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) for its perceived excessive aggression and militaristic approach (International Association of Chiefs of Police 4). These events set the stage for the tragic and violent clash that would later unfold in Charlottesville.

The event turned violent and deadly when a white supremacist struck a group of counter protesters with his automobile on August 12, killing a 32-year-old woman and wounding 19 others. Additionally, two Virginia state troopers perished when the situation-monitoring aircraft

they were in crashed. Many individuals were deeply affected by what happened that weekend because Charlottesville's displays of violence and racism were so upsetting. The tragedy sparked a great deal of thought and conversation on significant topics including racism, hate groups, and political divide across the nation. There was a sense of urgency to confront these concerns and move towards a better, more inclusive future since many people were extremely grieved and troubled by what had occurred. Trump's handling of this situation further cemented the accusations that he supports white supremacy for the reason that he failed to denounce this act of violence and instead morally equated both the white supremacists and the protesters and held both parties responsible for the tragedy (Perry57-58). This reaction from Trump further validated white supremacist sentiment and provided a platform for white supremacy ideology to gain traction once more.

The media reaction to the Charlottesville incident was highly polarized, as indicated by an analysis of the Twitter conversation surrounding the event. A study of the Twitter conversation using the hashtag #Charlottesville revealed that the retweet network was divided along ideological lines, with communities largely homogeneous in their Left/Right orientation. The findings demonstrated that media followership on Twitter played a significant role in shaping the conversation, with the retweet network showing strong assortativity based on a PCA-based Left/Right orientation score. These findings aligned with previous studies on Twitter data, highlighting the influence of media preference on the polarization of the discourse (Tien et al. 21-22). Overall, the media response to the Charlottesville incident reflected the deep ideological divisions present in society, with different outlets and individuals interpreting and framing the event through their preferred media lenses.

The United States has witnessed a resurgence of white supremacists in recent years, largely driven by the rise of the alt-right movement. One significant event that brought attention to this resurgent movement was the white supremacist "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville,

Virginia, in August 2017. With approximately 600 extremists from across the country participating, the rally ended in violent clashes and served as a wake-up call for many Americans regarding the growing influence of white supremacists. They chanted racist slogans and displayed symbols of hate. The rally turned violent, and a counter-protester was killed in a car attack (Time 1). This event sparked a national conversation about the rise of white nationalism and the need to address this issue. Another example of rising racism in America is the increase in hate crimes against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders during the COVID-19 pandemic. The AAPI community has been targeted with racist slurs and physical violence, with some blaming them for the spread of the virus (Gover et al. 1). This rise in hate crimes underscores the ongoing issue of racism towards minority communities in America and the urgent need to address it.

3.5. Public Opinion Concerning Culture War during the Trump Administration

Donald Trump's impact on American politics cannot be overstated. He has utilized various media platforms, including social media, to bypass traditional political channels and communicate directly with the public. Through his provocative statements, tweets, and policy proposals, Trump has sparked debates, controversies, and public outrage that have polarized the nation. He has framed issues such as immigration, trade, and national security in a way that resonates with his base of supporters and forces opponents to respond to his agenda. However, Trump's influence on the political discourse does not necessarily mean that he has won every argument or debate. His policies have faced opposition from various sectors of society, including politicians, activists, and the media. The resistance to Trump has manifested in the form of protests, lawsuits, and legislative efforts to block his policies (Larreboure and Gonzalez 2). Moreover, Trump's approval ratings have consistently been low, indicating that a significant portion of the American public does not support his leadership style or policy priorities.

Public opinion on Donald Trump's presidency and its impact on race relations in the United States has been largely negative. A significant majority of Americans, 60%, believe that Trump's election has worsened race relations in the country, while only 8% believe it has improved them. This sentiment has shifted from initial expectations following Trump's victory, as voters had more optimistic views at that time. In contrast, after Barack Obama's election in 2008, a majority of Americans, 52%, believed that it would lead to better race relations. However, a year later, fewer Americans, 36%, believed that race relations had actually improved under Obama's presidency. Overall, the public's assessment of race relations in the US remains negative, with 56% describing them as generally bad. According to a national survey conducted by Pew Research Center, the majority of Americans, 56%, hold unfavorable views of the overall state of race relations in the country. Only 38% believe that race relations are generally good. Furthermore, since May 2016, there has been an increase in the percentage of Americans who believe that race relations are getting worse, rising from 38% to 44% at the time of the survey (Pew Research Center 1). This indicates a growing concern and a perceived deterioration in the state of race relations in the United States.

In addition to the negative perceptions of race relations during Trump's presidency, there has been an increase in the share of Americans who believe that too little attention is paid to race and racial issues. Currently, 44% of the public feels that racial issues receive inadequate attention, while 32% believe there is an excessive focus on race. Only 19% believe that the right amount of attention is given to these issues. This represents a shift from May 2016 when opinions were divided, with 35% saying too little attention was paid and 36% saying too much attention was given to racial issues. Moreover, the survey reveals that a majority of Americans, 65%, still perceive "very strong" or "strong" conflicts between blacks and whites in the country. However, a larger percentage, 86%, perceive strong conflicts between Republicans and Democrats. This indicates that the public perceives political divisions as more significant and

prevalent than racial conflicts, as well as conflicts related to age, wealth, and rural-urban divide (Pew Research Center 2).These findings further illustrate the complex dynamics and perceptions surrounding race relations in the United States.

In conclusion, Donald Trump's presidency was marked by controversy, particularly in relation to white nationalism. His divisive rhetoric and policies, such as those on immigration and Islam, fueled polarization and mainstream acceptance of these ideologies. The aftermath of the Charlottesville rally exemplified the extent of division and highlighted the need for a more inclusive vision. Additionally, Trump's "America First" policy faced criticism for its isolationist nature and association with controversial actions. Racism remains a significant challenge, and addressing systemic issues and promoting inclusivity is crucial for creating a more equitable future. The nation must work to heal divisions, reject racist attitudes, and foster respect for all individuals, regardless of their race or ethnicity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, nationalism is a powerful force that shapes political and social movements, emphasizing loyalty to one's nation, culture, and tradition. It emerged in the 18th century and has had a profound impact on revolutions and the formation of nation-states across Europe. Understanding its historical origins provides insight into its focus on popular sovereignty and unified nations. The study of ethnicity and nationalism has generated various theories to explain their nature. Primordialism emphasizes fixed and unchanging ethnic identities, while ethnosymbolism traces national identity through symbolic elements. Modernism sees nationalism as a product of social change and increased awareness. These theories shed light on the complex dynamics of ethnicity and nationalism.

In the United States, nationalism has played a significant role in shaping the country's history and foreign policy decisions. American nationalism encompasses a range of ideologies and beliefs, with ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism being prominent forms. It has influenced the country's expansion, belief in exceptionalism, and interventions in global conflicts. The events of 9/11 further fueled American nationalism, uniting the nation against the perceived threat of terrorism.

White nationalism, on the other hand, is a political ideology that prioritizes the interests of white individuals while disregarding the rights of non-white minority groups. It poses a threat to racial harmony and perpetuates systems of inequality and discrimination. Some white nationalists have infiltrated positions of political power and use politics and policy-making to advance their agenda.

Supremacy in the United States takes various forms, including economic, patriarchal, and racial supremacy. Economic supremacy aims for global dominance through economic and military power. Patriarchal supremacy perpetuates gender inequality, while racial supremacy,

particularly white supremacy, has deep historical roots and continues to impact American society. It is important to differentiate between nationalism and white supremacy as distinct ideologies. Nationalism emphasizes patriotism, unity, and sovereignty, while white supremacy asserts the superiority of the white race. White supremacy has its roots in European colonialism and slavery, serving as a justification for oppression and exploitation. While both ideologies have been criticized for exclusion and oppression, they have different characteristics and historical contexts.

The United States is a country of immigrants, and understanding the experiences of different ethnic groups is crucial for grasping the changing patterns of immigration and the ongoing struggle for racial equality. The concept of American identity has been complex throughout history, with debates on inclusivity and the dominance of certain groups. The changing racial composition of American society has sparked concerns among some individuals and groups, leading to the resurgence of white nationalism and hate crimes.

Racism persists in various forms and affects communities of color in the United States. Addressing systemic racism, economic disparities, and promoting equal opportunities are essential for dismantling inequality. The rise of hate groups, such as the KKK and the National Socialist Movement, poses threats to social cohesion and democratic values. Former President Donald Trump's policies and rhetoric have had a significant impact on American society. While some argue that he pandered to white nationalists, others believe he actively advanced their agenda. His divisive rhetoric and policies on immigration and media have contributed to polarization and the rise of far-right groups. Recognizing and rejecting such language is crucial for building an inclusive and equitable future. The issues of nationalism, white supremacy, racism, and immigration are complex and multifaceted. They require ongoing attention, understanding, and efforts to promote inclusivity, equality, and social cohesion. By addressing

these challenges head-on and fostering dialogue, societies can work towards a more equitable and harmonious future.

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