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Exploring White Extremism as a Function of Historical Legacy, Globalization, and Populism in the United Kingdom, United States, and Australia

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EXPLORING WHITE EXTREMISM AS A FUNCTION OF HISTORICAL LEGACY, GLOBALIZATION, AND POPULISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES, AND AUSTRALIA

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Abstract

In this thesis, I will examine the contemporary issue of white extremism in the context of increasing globalization and populism. The Western world has witnessed an increase in terrorism by white extremists in the last decade. The object of this thesis is to identify the factors which prompted the present increase and different character of white extremist groups in comparison to prior white extremist movements like the racist skinheads in the 1980s and 1990s. To answer this question, I evaluate historical racism, impacts of globalization, the rise of right-leaning populism, racist skinhead subcultures of the 1980s and 1990s, and contemporary white extremist movements in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia. These factors demonstrate how the combination of historical racism, lack of support for industries affected by immigration, impending cultural backlash, and rhetoric of populist campaigns has resulted in a completely new wave of white extremists. Contemporary white extremists are different from previous white supremacist groups like racist skinheads in messaging and operation as a result of feeling legitimized by populist leaders and increased technological access due to globalization.

Introduction

Between the years of 2011 and 2017, there was a clear increase in white extremist terrorist attacks, numbering 350 in Europe, North America, and Australia.[1] Along with these attacks, there has been a rise in hate crime and bias incidents in these areas.[2] What is it about our present moment in time that has catalyzed such an extreme increase in acts of white extremist terror worldwide? How have factors such as historical legacy and globalization played a part in the increasing populism visible today? What is the connection between populism and white extremism? The Western world is facing a right-leaning populist wave and ever-increasing levels of globalization. The United States, United Kingdom, and Australia are three countries who in addition to populism and globalization, are facing rising threats from white extremism.[3]

The acceleration of globalization in the late 20th and 21st century combined with a diversifying society as legislation prohibiting immigration were repealed has resulted in a conservative cultural backlash.[4] This conservative cultural backlash, primarily characterized by anti-immigrant rhetoric, has provided an electorate conducive to right-leaning populist movements whose platform focuses on nationalism and anti-immigration policies.[5] The incipient effects of globalization on Western nations initially resulted in the formation of skinhead subcultures,[6] but the contemporary combination of populism, globalization, and increasing

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[1] Cai, W. and S. Landon (2019) "Attacks by White Extremists Are Growing. So Are Their Connections." *The New York Times.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*, p. 445, 449
[5] Gibson, L. (2020) The Authoritarian Reflex. *Harvard Magazine.* https://harvardmagazine.com/2020/03/feature-the-authoritarian-reflex
[6] Brents, B. and P. Simi (2008) An Extreme Response to Globalization: The Case of Racist Skinhead Youth. *Globalizing the Streets: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Youth, Social Control, and Empowerment* p. 185

diversity has resulted in an increase in white extremist groups committed to carrying out terrorist actions.[7]

In 2016 there were numerous debates among political scientists and sociologists regarding the factors that resulted in the election of numerous right-leaning populist leaders and nationalist policies including the election of Donald Trump, the Brexit referendum, and the election of the One Nation party to Australian Parliament.[8] However a gap in the literature has emerged as the factors of globalization and racist legislation have been examined in relation to increasing populism around the world but not in consideration of how these factors have impacted contemporary white extremist groups.

First, I compiled existing research related to white extremism, globalization, and cultural backlash, which revealed that a gap exists in the literature related to how these factors interact together. In order to rectify that gap, I conducted a thorough examination of the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia to provide insight into the environment that has created the current increase of white extremism in each country. In each case study, I examine the codified racism in the 20th century, the effects of globalization, rise of present populism, and the skinhead and contemporary white extremist movements in each country individually. The analysis of the case studies yields several commonalities. I came to the conclusion that the origin of contemporary white extremist groups is based in the lack of aid for industries suffering from increasing globalization which, when combined with an influx of immigrants after restrictive legislation was repealed, shifted the blame from the government to the new non-white citizens of the respective countries. The right-leaning populist parties then capitalized on rising backlash

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[7] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 47

[8] Gibson, L. (2020) The Authoritarian Reflex. *Harvard Magazine.*

against immigrants and their rhetoric legitimized the pursuit of contemporary white extremist groups of a white ethno-state. This led contemporary groups to increase the number and size of their attacks from prior iterations of white supremacist groups like the racist skinheads. The identification of these causes is important as it not only provides background to the current attacks carried out by white supremacists but also insight as to the measures needed to avoid the current environment that has enabled white extremists.

Literature Review

Sociological and Political Perspectives on Globalization

Globalization is not a new process, although scholarship on the topic has expanded exponentially in recent years. The concept of globalization is extremely complex, with numerous scholars from a variety of disciplines debating the countless dimensions through which it may be examined. The field of sociology has aggregated numerous definitions for globalization focusing on economic and cultural aspects. Sociologist Martin Albrow has described it as "the process whereby the population of the world is increasingly bonded into a single society."[9] This articulation conceptualizes not that globalization inherently means that we are a single society, but signifies a process as the world becomes ever more interdependent. Another sociologist, Richard Kilminster, analyzed globalization by balancing the economic and cultural aspects, defining globalization as a concept that reflects the individual experience of increasing social integration which has let to deteriorating relationships between nations.[10] Kilminster argues that while globalization is a process that has been taking place for an extended period of time, integration is accelerating creating a more autonomous, transnational oriented level of government.[11] Although the concept of globalization began in the field of economics, the field of sociology has expanded research on the subject, particularly in relation to the effects that globalization has on society.

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[9] Albrow, M. (1992), The Impact of Globalization on Sociological Concepts: Community Culture and Milieu. *Living the Global City.* p. 248

[10] Kilminster, R. (1997) Globalization as an Emergent Concept. *The Limits of Globalization: Cases and Arguments.* p. 272

[11] *Ibid.* p. 271

Political scientist Anthony McGrew contends that globalization involves several different aspects including culture, politics, ecology, and social interactions.[12] McGrew's analysis of globalization encompasses the theoretical advances proposed in the fields of economics, sociology, and political science, and he argues that one of the principal causes behind the acceleration of globalization in the 20th century is technological innovation.[13] The broad theory of analysis regarding globalization is central to understanding the breadth and significance of the acceleration currently taking place as the world grows increasingly interdependent. Sociologist Barbara Brents, who applies theories from sociology to the political economy, in collaboration with Dr. Pete Simi, a sociologist specializing in extremist groups, builds on the complexities mentioned by McGrew, specifically from the perspective of Western economies, stating that in addition to the mobility of capital, these economies have experienced accelerated deindustrialization and increased migration which has changed the culture of the host country.[14] Implicit in the analysis presented by Simi, Brents, and McGrew, is the assumption that the globalization experienced in the late 20th and early 21st century is fundamentally different from globalization occurring prior to this time period. The sum of these analyses makes clear that the effects of globalization on society are numerous and span a broad number of fields.

The Connection Between Globalization and Populism

Economist Dani Rodrik affirms the differences presented by Simi, Brents, and McGrew in terms of differences in periods of globalization. Rodrik proposes that although globalization has been occurring for centuries, the path to modern globalization began under the Gold

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[12] Mcgrew (2017) The Logics of Economic Globalization. *Global Political Economy.* p. 256
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 257
[14] Brents, B. and P. Simi (2008) An Extreme Response to Globalization: The Case of Racist Skinhead Youth. *Globalizing the Streets: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Youth, Social Control, and Empowerment* p. 186

Standard in the 19th century with high trade liberalization in Europe and free capital mobility.[15]

People began to move in large numbers between Europe and the New World, and similar to now,

technological innovation increased trade and the mobility of capital.[16] During this first era of

globalization, these results spurred political backlash in the form of populism. Despite the

populist assault on the Gold Standard, the economic system in which a nation's currency was

tied to the value of gold, it would continue for nearly four decades before being brought down in

the United Kingdom by similar populist pressures.[17] In the period of globalization that is

occurring today, there is a similar backlash occurring. The postwar economic system signified

the next stage in globalization. The central characteristics to this stage were the freedom given to

governments to set monetary policy as well as controls put on international capital mobility.[18]

Rodrik argues that there was a change in the 1980s changing the system that had existed in the

immediate post-WWII era. Immediately after World War II, the global economic arrangements

known as the Bretton Woods compromise or embedded liberalism was particularly successful

due to capital controls allowing for a "thin model of trade integration."[19] However, in the 1980s,

politicians and economists pushed for deeper economic integration.[20] As deeper economic

integration became the goal, policies designed to protect domestic industry were repealed in

favor of a freer market.[21] These decisions accelerated globalization, and made it what we know it

as today which Rodrik calls hyperglobalization and argues has incited a far-right populist

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[15] Rodrik, D. (2020) Why Does Globalization Fuel Populism? *Economics, Culture, and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism* p. 3
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Rodrik, D. (2019). Globalization's Wrong Turn: And How It Hurt America. *Foreign Affairs, 98*(4), 28
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.* p. 26
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 27
[21] *Ibid.,* p. 29

backlash. In his article, "Why Does Globalization Fuel Populism?," Dani Rodrik acknowledges

that globalization and populism are closely intertwined. Although populism is a loose label that

includes a wide variety of movements, Rodrik identifies one of the key qualities possessed by

current populists movements as including clear hostility to globalization.[22]

Populism, Right Wing Groups, and White Nationalism

The racist skinhead movement emerged in the 1980s in response to globalization, and it

serves as an example of cultural backlash. The current right-wing populist wave has connections

to right wing extremist groups with white nationalist tendencies. Australian historian and

academic, Andrew Moore, who specializes in right-wing politics defines right wing groups as

embracing extreme conservatism, conspiracy theories, nationalism, racism, and

authoritarianism.[23] One of the most well-known global iterations of white nationalist or extremist

groups of the 20th century were the skinheads. Sociologist, Pete Simi, is known as one of the

preeminent experts in the United States on skinhead culture due to his experience living among

white power groups for seven years as a part of his studies. Simi states that globalization is the

leading cause of the nationalist resurgence and that the effects of globalization led to the

development of the racist skinheads in the 1980s and 1990s.[24] According to Simi, Nazism was

not originally part of skinhead philosophy, although they had strong nationalist and anti-

immigration beliefs.[25] Eventually, racism became more deeply engrained in the skinhead

movement, leading to the veneration of Adolf Hitler and Nazi ideology.[26] Another sociologist,

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[22] Rodrik, D. (2020) Why Does Globalization Fuel Populism? p. 1
[23] Moore, A. (2005). Writing about the Extreme Right in Australia. *Labour History,* (89) p. 2
[24] Brents, B. and P. Simi (2008) An Extreme Response to Globalization: The Case of Racist Skinhead Youth. p. 185
[25] *Ibid.* p. 189
[26] *Ibid.*

Sine Anahita, frames the racist skinhead movement as viewing the world in a dichotomous manner: white versus black, American versus immigrant, and British versus Pakistani.[27]

Cultural Backlash Theory

Part of the phenomenon described by Simi and others in descriptions of the reaction of skinhead groups to globalization, is articulated in Cultural Backlash theory by political scientists Pippa Norris and Donald Inglehart. Both authors examine the road to the current political environment as it relates to voting patterns in populist parties from an interdisciplinary perspective. She and Donald Inglehart articulate a theory of Cultural Backlash beginning in the 1970s through today to explain the rise in right-wing populism around the world. Norris and Inglehart posit that there was a shift during the second half of the twentieth century which transformed the cultures of Western post-industrial societies and changed the mainstream cultural values.[28] The shift in values described was then emphasized by increasing immigration and urbanization.[29] The combination of these occurrences resulted in a transformation of public opinion in post-industrial societies, but the key to cultural backlash theory is that although there was value change. Value changes occur due generational, educational, gender, and urban transformations, but it ultimately changes the national balance between liberalism and conservatism.[30]

The purpose of Norris and Inglehart's analysis is to explain the rises in far-right political ideology in the 21st century as seen in the United States, Europe, and Australia, but the concept

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[27] Anahita, S. (2006). Blogging the Borders: Virtual Skinheads, Hypermasculinity, and Heteronormativity. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, *34*(1), 143–164.
[28] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 13, 14
[29] *Ibid.* p. 14
[30] *Ibid.*

of cultural backlash can also be used to understand the rise of white extremism globally in the

21st century as well. Norris and Inglehart acknowledge in the opening of their book, *Cultural*

Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism, that the election of Donald Trump led to a

rise in attacks by white supremacist groups.[31] Both authors agree that white nationalist groups

are backlash against rapid cultural change which they believe to threaten traditional values.[32]

Cultural backlash theory explains the differences between contemporary white extremist groups

formed post-2010 such as National Action, Atomwaffen, and the Antipodean Resistance and the

skinhead groups of the 1980s and 1990s.

Contemporary White Extremist Groups

There is limited contemporary scholarship on white extremist groups such as

Atomwaffen of the United States, Antipodean Resistance of Australia, and National Action of

the United Kingdom, which all formed around 2015. One of the few scholars who has published

research on this subject is Paul Jackson, a historian of contemporary history with a focus on

radical and extreme ideologies, who conducted an analysis of transnational Neo-Nazi groups in

the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Jackson found that Atomwaffen,

Antipodean Resistance, and National Action all formed between 2013 and 2015 in conjunction

with a rise in populism in their respective countries.[33] The remaining coverage of these groups

exists in periodicals, webpages, and social media as journalists have obtained communications

and other primary source material to distribute to the general public. Journalist Jason Wilson

with the Southern Poverty Law Center proposes that Atomwaffen became the example for other

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 47
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Jackson, P. (2020) Transnational Neo-Nazism in the USA, United Kingdom, and Australia. *The George Washington University Program on Extremism.*

accelerationist groups to follow when they began using terrorism as a political instrument which other contemporary neo-Nazi groups then adopted.[34] The shared history of white supremacy combined with increased populism characterized by anti-immigrant rhetoric has facilitated the rise of accelerationist neo-Nazism in Western societies.[35]

The literature concerning globalization, white extremist groups, and populism is extensive when considered in isolation. However, there is a lack of comparative and interdisciplinary study examining white supremacist groups such as the skinheads and contemporary white supremacist groups in connection with the sociocultural effects stemming from globalization. As new white supremacist groups have formed in the mid-2010s reflecting a new type of transnational terrorism, accelerationist neo-Nazism, it is clear that intensifying cultural backlash and the new age of hyperglobalization catalyzed how they responded to their respective environments differently than groups like skinheads in the 1980s and 1990s. ADD I will address this, and here is a gap in the literature that poses this question, I will answer Socio cultural effects: sharing of ideas or philosophies, specify, not clear, give some numbers on globalization now vs in the past

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[34] Wilson, J. (2020) The Base: Exporting Accelerationist Terror. *Southern Poverty Law Center*
[35] *Ibid.*

Historical Overview and Case Studies

Introduction to Case Studies

The study of the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia provides a cohesive analysis of the relationships between historical racism, globalization and populism, cultural backlash, and white extremism. All countries are a part of what is known as the 'Anglosphere' consisting of Britain and its former colonies: The United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. All these English-speaking countries share a series of elemental factors: free market economies, respect for the law, parliamentary democracy, and Protestantism.[36] In addition, the countries have similar racist histories of slavery and indigenous genocide which have contributed to the narratives of white supremacy and the national identity of each nation. Each country experienced a right extremist wave in the 1980s/1990s with racist skinheads, and they are currently experiencing a larger wave with contemporary right wing extremist groups. I chose these case studies due to their similar history and cultural background in order to more readily identify how these factors interacted. The United States and the United Kingdom can be classified as easy case studies due to the equal presence of all investigated factors, allowing the analysis to center on the mechanisms that increase white extremist actions. Australia presents a typical case study due to the diminished factor of skinhead presence compared to the United States and the United Kingdom which allows for a more detailed analysis of how the factors of globalization, historical legacy, and cultural backlash led to the contemporary white extremism in the country. Examined together, these case studies provide insight into the interactions

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[36] Rodriguez, A. (2019). Imperial Nostalgia and Bitter Reality: The United Kingdom, the United States and Brexit, Implications for Regional Integration. *Journal of Strategic Security, 13*(2), p. 22

amongst the variables over time, and the results provide a conclusion warranting further analysis with harder, atypical case studies.

The United Kingdom

Historical Context of the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom was the hegemonic power in the world prior to the 20th century. Well known for its colonialism and imperialism, Britain had an empire of another sort, as their economy overwhelmingly focused on industry and expanded the middle class.[37] However, by the end of the 20th century, the British economy moved away from the manufacturing industry, and became a primarily service based economy. This change left many lower-middle class and blue collar workers out of a job.

The imperialist past of the United Kingdom has left an imprint on modern politics in the country, particularly in regards to immigration. The idea of 'multiculturalism' did not emerge in the United Kingdom until the official end of the British Empire in 1945.[38] The enactment of the 1948 British Nationality Act granted a right to immigrate to the United Kingdom to the majority of the Empire and Commonwealth.[39] As a result, many people immigrated to the United Kingdom from a variety of colonies. This fundamentally changed the presentation of racism in the United Kingdom as previously under imperialism the basis for immigration policies was scientific racism for different racial groups that most people in the United Kingdom had never had contact with.[40] However, as immigration within the United Kingdom increased during the

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[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Ashcroft, R., and M. Bevir. (2019). British Multiculturalism after Empire: Immigration, Nationality, and Citizenship. In Ashcroft R. & Bevir M. (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in the British Commonwealth: Comparative Perspectives on Theory and Practice* (pp. 25-45)

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Lindsey, L. (1989). Review: Race and Empire in British Politics. *International Journal on World Peace,6*(3), 114-117. Retrieved October 25, 2020, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20751392 p. 115

20th century, eugenics and pathological racism gained popularity.[41] Eugenics and pathological racism worked their way into anti-immigrant rhetoric in the United Kingdom as white citizens sought to distinguish themselves from increasing numbers of immigrants from non-white countries as seen in current populist movements.

Two economic events in the 20th century were particular significant for the effects of globalization and rising populism visible in the United Kingdom today: accession to the European Union and the leadership of Margaret Thatcher. In 1973, the United Kingdom joined what was then called the European Economic Community which would become the European Union in 1993. When the United Kingdom joined the European Union, it became part of Europe rather than its own empire, changing the national identity. In addition, the economic policies of the European Union as well as Margaret Thatcher's government permanently changed the nature of the economy.[42]

The occurrence of Brexit in the United Kingdom corresponds with the waves of right-wing populism occurring in Western countries around the globe. The narrative of the 'Leave' campaign in the United Kingdom signaled that a large section of the population thought that membership in the European Union was at odds with the protection of the culture and history of the United Kingdom.[43] This philosophy is heavily reflected in the platforms of the Tory and United Kingdom Independence Parties (UKIP) parties in the United Kingdom.

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[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Campos, N. and F. Coricelli. (2017) EU Membership, Mrs Thatcher's Reforms, and Britain's Economic Decline. *Comparative Economic Studies* (59) p. 189

[43] Ashcroft, R., and M. Bevir. (2019). British Multiculturalism after Empire: Immigration, Nationality, and Citizenship. p. 28

Globalization and Populism in the United Kingdom

The formation of the European Union in 1993 signified a new era in globalization, as all the countries involved eliminated not only trade barriers, but those limiting movement of people as well. The United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community in 1973,[44] and most analyses demonstrate that as a result, the GDP per capita was raised by approximately 8.6% after 10 years due to an rise in productivity due to increased competition.[45] The resistance to the membership of the United Kingdom in the European Union began in 1993 after the Maastricht Treaty that created the European Union out of the European Economic Community. Along with the change in name came the development of the European Single Market which signaled a much greater level of economic and political integration than when the United Kingdom had entered the community 20 years prior.[46] Resistance to the European Union became known as Euroskepticism, which catalyzed the founding of populist parties like UKIP headed by Nigel Farage as disillusionment with the European Union grew in the British working-class.[47]

Under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, economic policy in the United Kingdom changed significantly. One of the priorities of the Thatcher administration lower inflation, but the policies implemented also negatively affected manufacturing and mining in the United Kingdom.[48] The effects of neoliberal economic policies were particularly harsh on the blue-collar and working class in the United Kingdom who depended on the manufacturing and mining

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[44] Sampson, T. (2017). Brexit: The Economics of International Disintegration. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 31*(4)

[45] *Ibid.* 168

[46] *Ibid.* 175

[47] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 371

[48] Rajwade, A. (2013). Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013). *Economic and Political Weekly, 48*(21), p. 17

industries. The joint occurrence of immigration from non-white colonies and increasing European integration coalesced in a yearning for a Britain that no longer existed.

Increasing economic globalization in the latter half of the 20th century prompted further skepticism towards the economic benefits of the European Union as the reduction in tariffs in countries with neoliberal policies increased financial market integration and production facilities were moved to other countries where labor was cheaper.[49] The processes of globalization have in turn facilitated the rapid development of Asian economies including South Korea and China. Increased competition, particularly in areas such as manufacturing, had great impacts on the British economy which the working class had relied on those sectors in the early and mid-20th century.

The effects of globalization on the British working class were numerous, as it disproportionately affected manufacturing sectors in England. Automation, increases in low-wage immigrant labor, and outsourcing resulted in a group termed the 'left behind' as the economy of the United Kingdom changed rapidly.[50] The 'left behind' in the United Kingdom became progressively resentful of the European Union, blaming the European Single Market for much of the economic change in the United Kingdom.[51]

The shock caused by globalization which affected the British working class was the primary factor for Leave voters during the Brexit campaign. Rising populism in the United Kingdom was clear in the years before the vote, and the Leave vote correlated with conservative

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[49] Baimbridge, M., Burkitt, B., & Whyman, P. B. (2011). *Britain in a Global World : Options for a New Beginning*. Andrews UK.

[50] Bhambra, G.K. (2017), Brexit, Trump, and 'methodological whiteness': on the misrecognition of race and class. The British Journal of Sociology, p. 68

[51] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 398

political ideology and the belief that life in Britain was worse today than ever before.[52] A great deal of Leave opposition was in regards to immigration since membership in the European Union resulted in increased immigration from Slavic countries to the United Kingdom. Analyses of support for withdrawal from the European Union reveal that it is a reaction against austerity policies and the increase in immigration from the European Union.[53] UKIP capitalized on the resentment towards EU workers by promoting campaign policies based in nationalism including limiting the National Health Service to legal residents of the United Kingdom.[54] The party began gaining significant popularity in 2013 when they earned close to a quarter of the overall vote in local elections,[55] but UKIP succeeded in pushing the Tories further to the right which ultimately resulted in the Brexit referendum in 2016. The populist wave of 2016 was the result of a desire to return to the days of the United Kingdom before entering the European Union, and signaled a rejection of the changing culture in the country.

Cultural Backlash in the UK

The process of changing cultural values has bred a retrenchment in nationalist ideology in the United Kingdom which is often supplemented with racist rhetoric. The message of the Leave campaign focused heavily on the issue of immigration, but the rhetoric surrounding immigration reflected the legacy of racism in the United Kingdom and its connections with imperialism.[56] Dissatisfaction with the cultural trajectory of the United Kingdom began with the accession to the European Union in the 1970s, but culminated with the referendum in 2016. In a series of

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[52] Sampson, T. (2017). Brexit: The Economics of International Disintegration. p. 176
[53] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 135
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 137
[55] Matthijs, M. (2013). David Cameron's Dangerous Game: The Folly of Flirting With an EU Exit. *Foreign Affairs, 92*(5), 10-16.
[56] El-Enany, N. (2018), The next British empire. IPPR Progressive Review, 25: 30-38

opinion polls conducted by the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford related to the disparities between Leave and Remain voters in the 2016 referendum, it was clear that both sides had different ideas concerning the future of the United Kingdom. One of the most important aspects of that future was immigration policies of the Labour and Tory parties. Overall, those who voted to stay in the European Union were more likely to support the Labour party and immigration, but those who voted to leave were more likely to support the Tory party and were against immigration.[57] Not only is there a disparity in the overall attitudes towards increased immigration between Leave and Remain voters in the UK, but there is a clear racial and ethnic component regarding the preference in what country the immigrants to the United Kingdom ought to be from.

Figure 1: Opinion Poll Asking Leave and Remain Voters if the Government Ought to Allow Some or Many Immigrants from the Following Countries
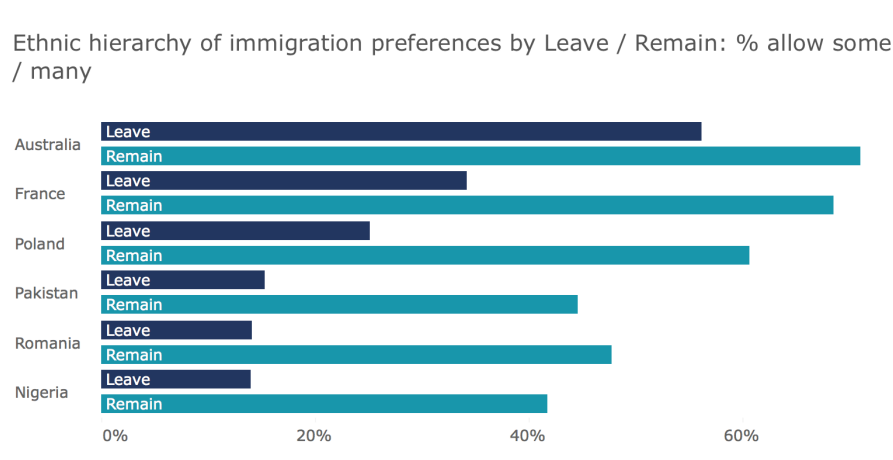
[58]

Leave voters display a clear preference for majority white and Western European immigrants in contrast with Remain voters who display some preference, but not nearly at the

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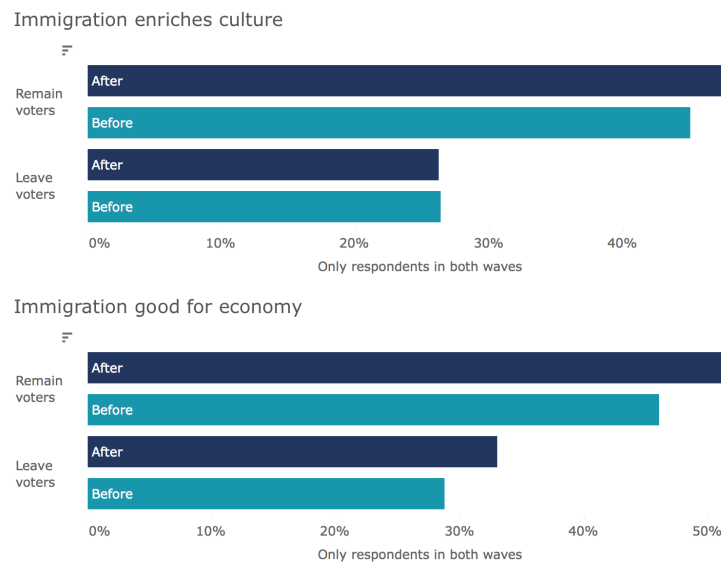[57] Blinder, S. and Richard, L. (2020). UK Public Opinion Towards Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Levels of Concern. *The Migration Observatory*. https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/
[58] *Ibid.*

same level. One of the largest disparities is visible in the question regarding immigration from Nigeria where Leave voters responded overwhelmingly against allowing many Nigerian immigrants into the United Kingdom. Additionally, the sentiments regarding Poland and Romania by the Leave voters can be attributed to the antipathy towards immigration from Eastern European countries in the European Union.

In a separate poll conducted of Leave and Remain voters both before and after the referendum in 2016, there was also a clear difference in the opinions of the effects of immigration on both British culture and the economy.[59] UKIP campaigned a great deal on the negative effects of immigration on British culture and social services such as the NHS.[60]

Figure 2: Opinion Poll Asking Leave and Remain Voters Both Before and After the Referendum Whether They Believe That Immigration a) Enriches Culture in the United Kingdom and b) Is Good for the Economy

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[59] Blinder, S. and Richard, L. (2020). UK Public Opinion Towards Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Levels of Concern.

[60] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*, p. 137

[61] Blinder, S. and Richard, L. (2020). UK Public Opinion Towards Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Levels of Concern.

The opinion polling reveals that there is a significant gap between Leave and Remain voters, demonstrating that the sides have a fundamentally different view of the changing culture in the United Kingdom.[62] In both surveys, Leave voters have a more negative view of immigration compared to Remain voters and that Leave voters do not see immigration as a benefit culturally. Leave voters have a clear preference in regards to which country immigrants ought to come from, and the majority of Leave voters believe that immigration has a neutral or negative influence on both British culture and the economy.

Skinhead Subculture in the United Kingdom

Even before the acceleration of globalization in the 1980s as denoted by Dani Rodrik, there was evidence of populist backlash and corresponding violent youth reactions on a local level. In the decades after the end of World War II, skinhead groups began to emerge among the working-class youth.[63] The original skinheads emerged in 1968 or 1969 from London and Southeast England.[64] Initially, the skinheads in Great Britain were not associated with Nazism; however, sociologist S. Anahita identifies that in the 1980s, there was a resurgence of skinheads protesting both progressive social change and economic failures in the country.[65] Whereas the initial skinhead groups of the late 1960s were focused on class distinctions, the skinheads of the 1980s reformed their style and culture as negative attitudes formed towards immigrants from Asia and East Africa who they believed threatened the British way of life.[66] Racist skinhead

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[62] *Ibid.*

[63] Brents, B. and P. Simi (2008) An Extreme Response to Globalization: The Case of Racist Skinhead Youth. p. 189

[64] Pollard, J. (2016). Skinhead culture: The ideologies, mythologies, religions and conspiracy theories of racist skinheads. *Patterns of Prejudice*, *50*(4–5), 398–419.

[65] Anahita, S. (2006). Blogging the Borders, p. 150

[66] Pollard, J. (2016) Skinhead culture: The ideologies, mythologies, religions and conspiracy theories of racist skinheads. p. 412

groups in the United Kingdom became heavily involved with punk music, and their musical endeavors became known as "racist oi! Punk."[67] The music of English racist oi! Punk bands such as Skrewdriver, Brutal Attack, and No Remorse facilitated the spread of skinhead, white nationalist ideology beyond England's borders, and in the 1980s and 1990s white power punk bands began to show all over Europe, the United States, and Australia.[68]

Contemporary White Extremist Groups in the United Kingdom

There are numerous right wing extremist groups in the contemporary United Kingdom, but one of the most well-known and technologically adept is National Action. National Action has been found to communicate with the groups Atomwaffen in the United States and Antipodean Resistance in Australia through a far right forum called Iron March.

One of the leaders of National Action, Benjamin Raymond, has spoken publicly about the motivations of the group. Benjamin Raymond articulates that his group knows that the changes in the United Kingdom are linked to the international economy and that Britain "should be a white Britain."[69] He further identifies the root of all conflict in the country as stemming from increased immigration.[70] As such, National Action in the United Kingdom has an extremely anti-immigrant focus, with past members making pipe bombs to blow up a mosque[71] and another trying to kill a Sikh dentist with a machete.[72] Between 2017 and 2018 a total of 11 members

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[67] Dyck, K. (2019). "They'll Take Away Our Birthrights": How White-Power Musicians Instill Fear of White Extinction. In Boyce T. & Chunnu W. (Eds.), *Historicizing Fear: Ignorance, Vilification, and Othering* (pp. 73-87). Louisville: University Press of Colorado. p. 75
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 75
[69] Derbyshire, V. (2015) Radicals: 'I'm a proud racist.' *BBC News*
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] Poulter, J. (2018) The Obscure Neo-Nazi Forum Linked to a Wave of Terror. *Vice News.* https://www.vice.com/en/article/437pkd/the-obscure-neo-nazi-forum-linked-to-a-wave-of-terror
[72] *Ibid.*

were arrested while preparing to carry out mass terror attacks.[73] Contrary to groups such as the skinheads, groups like National Action primarily operate in the online sphere, encouraging members to act individually of the group to appear as a 'lone wolf' instead of an organized group.

As Brexit and UKIP have changed the national political discourse in the UK, much of the rhetoric utilized by contemporary groups has changed with it. Globalization is still incredibly intertwined as many conservative parties have pushed back against some of its effects, leading right wing groups to adopt recruitment strategies that build off of existing rhetoric. Leaders of National Action are increase recruitment and popularity off of the support for far-right parties across Europe.[74] Leader Benjamin Raymond has stated that far-right parties are racist but refuse to acknowledge it like the members of National Action.[75] The group was banned and designated a terrorist group by the British government, the first far-right group to be banned in the United Kingdom since the 1940s.

The United States

Historical Context of the United States

The United States provides an apt comparison to the United Kingdom. Although the United States of America broke with the United Kingdom, then Great Britain, in 1776, it did not break with common language and religious tradition.[76] In addition to linguistics, religion, and

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[73] Nathan, J. (2018). Antipodean Resistance: The Rise and Goals of Australia's New Nazis. *ABC News*. https://www.abc.net.au/religion/antipodean-resistance-the-rise-and-goals-of-australias-new-nazis/10094794

[74] Porter, T. (2014) New UK Far-Right Group National Action Led By Student and Former Double-Glazing Salesman. *International Business Times*. https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/new-uk-far-right-group-national-action-led-by-student-former-double-glazing-salesman-1451795

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] Rodriguez, A. (2019). Imperial Nostalgia and Bitter Reality: The United Kingdom, the United States and Brexit, Implications for Regional Integration. P. 23

culture, the United States adopted the expansionist tendencies of the United Kingdom as evidenced prior to the 20th century by "Jefferson's Empire of Liberty (1801), the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the wars with Mexico (1846-47) and Spain (1898)."[77]

The effects of slavery in the United States were visible in the 20th century United States, although the institution itself no longer exists, institutional policies and acts of legislation have perpetuated the racial disparities well into the 21st century.[78] The Civil Rights movement created an opportunity for an increasingly liberal style of politics and public policy.[79] However, racism is very much present in the 21st century, and these views are often validated in order to maintain political power.[80] Racism and xenophobia have played a significant part in US politics, particularly in regards to the rhetoric around immigration.

The Cold War was a driving factor in domestic and foreign policy in the United States after World War II. A fear not only of the Soviet Union, but communism prompted the Truman administration to "[implement] aggressive programs of psychological warfare and covert operations aimed at undermining Communist governments in Eastern Europe and exploiting the vulnerabilities of the Soviet system."[81] As anti-communism became progressively more important in American politics, so did unrestrained capitalism. Multiple American presidents fought against the unseen enemy during the Cold War, but it was Ronald Reagan who turned the fight against the Soviet Union into a fundamental difference in values.

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[77] *Ibid.* p. 24
[78] Walters, R. (2012). THE IMPACT OF SLAVERY ON 20TH-AND 21ST-CENTURY BLACK PROGRESS. *The Journal of African American History, 97*(1–2), p. 111
[79] *Ibid.* p. 124
[80] *Ibid.* p. 127
[81] Pach, C. (2006). The Reagan Doctrine: Principle, Pragmatism, and Policy. Presidential Studies Quarterly, 36(1), p. 78

Ultimately, the agenda of the Reagan administration built on the policies of other Republican leaders dating back to President Truman.[82] However, one of the key differences in Reagan's administration was that American nationalism became a defining feature of the presidency of Ronald Reagan when he was elected at the very end of the Cold War. As Reagan focused on winning the Cold War, he employed more abrasive anti-communism rhetoric alongside pro-democracy statements.[83] He envisioned heightened national confidence as a means of "'exporting Americanism…[he believed] that it is [America's] preordained destiny to show all mankind that they, too, can be free without having to leave their native shore.'"[84] Ronald Reagan continued the expansionism of the past by conducting covert interventionist operation in South America in the name of anti-communism, continuing previous containment policy efforts.[85] Belief in American exceptionalism became a key part of the Republican party after Reagan's presidency, and capitalism became synonymous with Western culture.

Since Reagan's presidency, he has been held up as a figurehead of the Republican party by the American right, and his political principles have come to define the modern Republican party.[86] During his initial run for president, Donald Trump repeatedly referenced Ronald Reagan in an effort to align himself with the modern GOP. The Trump election of 2016 signals a new wave of populism in the United States. Although Trump won the election with the support of

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[82] Merry, R. (2012). The False Neocon View of Reagan. *The National Interest,* (118), p. 6
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] Pach, C. (2006) The Reagan Doctrine: Principle, Pragmatism, and Policy. p. 80
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] Marley, D. (2006). Ronald Reagan and the Splintering of the Christian Right. *Journal of Church and State, 48*(4), 851-868. p. 851

traditional Republicans, he appealed to other voters who were drawn to his rhetoric of nationalism, xenophobia, and anti-elitism.[87]

Globalization and Populism in the United States

Although globalization accelerated after the end of World War II, the actions of the Reagan administration in the United States significantly accelerated the effects for the United States. Ronald Reagan's adoption of trickle-down economics, later termed Reagonomics, and heightened conservatism led to a change in public policy in the United States which is still visible today.[88] The Reagan administration implemented a series of economic reforms which facilitated the progression of globalization in the United States by dropping tariffs and protective barriers in the interest of integrating further into the global economy.

The United States had a leadership role in forming the globalization that rules the international economy today, forging the rules that govern international trade disputes.[89] However, the contemporary United States economy has changed significantly as competition has arisen over the world, with entire supply chains forming across Asia, Latin America, and Europe which can manufacture goods at a fraction of what it would cost for American factories to manufacture the same goods.[90] Currently, service industries comprise 80% of the economic output of the United States,[91] signaling that the days of manufacturing have been left behind.

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[87] Gatz, M. and Darling, J. Through the Lens of Populism: the 2016 Election. *Informing Policy in Health , Economics, and Wellbeing.* https://healthpolicy.usc.edu/evidence-base/lens-populism-2016-election/

[88] Abramovitz, M. (2014). Economic crises, neoliberalism, and the US welfare state: Trends, outcomes and political struggle. In Noble C., Strauss H., & Littlechild B. (Eds.), *Global social work: Crossing borders, blurring boundaries*(pp. 225-240). AUSTRALIA: Sydney University Press, p. 225

[89] Goodman, P. (2019). Globalization is Moving Past the U.S. and Its Vision of World Order. *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/19/business/globalization-us-world-order.html

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] *Ibid.*

After the 1970s, the United States, like many other advanced industrial economies, has faced higher unemployment, lower growth, and higher inflation than during the post-war decades.[92] One of the effects of progressive global economic integration is the "decline of middle-skill jobs, which has resulted in stagnation of incomes for the majority of U.S. households."[93] The impact of the repercussions from globalization in American society were abundantly clear in the 2016 election with the success of both Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, whose campaign platforms heavily stressed the need for trade barriers to protect American workers.[94] The overall consensus of populist voters was the feeling of being 'left behind' which was associated with job loss and shuttered businesses due to industrial change, automation, and the influence of multinational corporations.[95] As dissatisfaction grew with the effects of globalization on jobs and wages in the United States as well as cultural changes, Donald Trump's platform became increasingly popular.

Cultural Backlash in the US

In the Trump-era, populist and nationalist rhetoric is especially evident in the descriptions of immigrants. Donald Trump has expressed a profound rejection of political correctness, which appealed to a demographic of "older, religious white traditionalists who find themselves left behind by growing support in America for issues such as same-sex marriage, [transgender]

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[92] Krippner, G. (2007). The Making of US Monetary Policy: Central Bank Transparency and the Neoliberal Dilemma. *Theory and Society, 36*(6), 477-513.

[93] Shatz, H. (2016). Conclusion: U.S. Policy Choices for the Global Economy. In U.S. International Economic Strategy in a Turbulent World: Strategic Rethink (pp. 125-130). Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation.

[94] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 135

[95] Silver, L., S. Schumacher, and M. Mordecai. (2020). In the U.S. and the U.K., Globalization Leaves Some Feeling 'Left Behind' or 'Swept Up.' *Pew Research Center.* https://www.pewresearch.org/2020/10/05/in-u-s-and-uk-globalization-leaves-some-feeling-left-behind-or-swept-up/

rights, gender equality for women in politics, and immigration rights."[96] A lot of the incendiary

rhetoric of Donald Trump during his 2016 campaign was aimed at immigrants, and surveys of

Republican voters reveal that the majority want to increase deportations. According to a Pew

Research poll, there is a stark divide between Republicans and Democrats in the United States in

regards to immigration, which has not changed significantly in the years since 2016.[97]

[98]

Figure 3: Opinion Poll Asking Republicans in 2016 and 2019 About Their Priorities For Immigration Policy
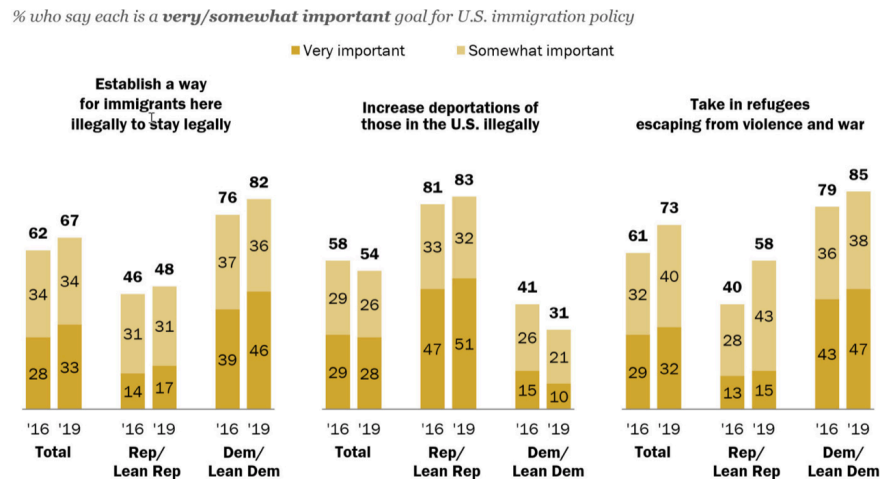
The disparity in the answers to questions concerning immigration policy between Democrats and

Republicans exemplifies the effects of nationalism on the Republican base. The differences in

attitude regarding immigration held true in other opinion polls conducted by Pew Research,

including one in 2016 regarding specific attitudes toward the border wall.

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[96] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2016) Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash. *HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series* (RWP15-026). p. 31
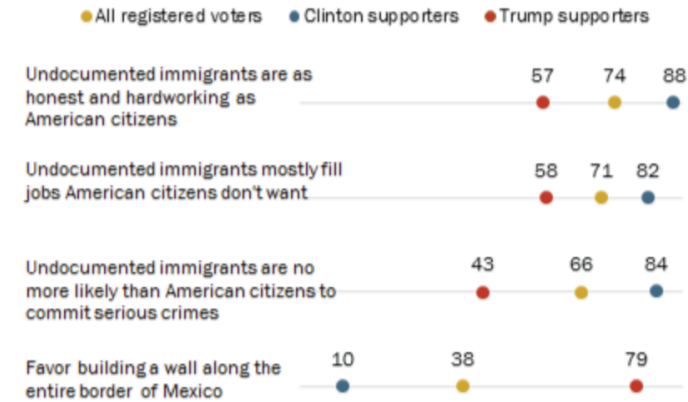[97] Daniller, A. "Americans' immigration priorities: Divisions between—and within—the two parties." *Pew Research Center*. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/11/12/americans-immigration-policy-priorities-divisions-between-and-within-the-two-parties/
[98] *Ibid.*

Figure 4: Opinion Poll Conducted in 2016 Concerning the Support for Trump's Border Wall and the Perceived Effects of Immigration on U.S. Society

Nearly eight-in-ten Trump supporters favor building a wall along Mexican border

% of registered voters who say ...

● All registered voters ● Clinton supporters ● Trump supporters

Undocumented immigrants are as honest and hardworking as American citizens	57	74	88
Undocumented immigrants mostly fill jobs American citizens don't want	58	71	82
Undocumented immigrants are no more likely than American citizens to commit serious crimes	43	66	84
Favor building a wall along the entire border of Mexico	10 38		79

Note: Based on registered voters.
Source: Surveys conducted Aug. 9-16, 2016.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

[99]

The part of the electorate that voted for Donald Trump held significantly different views on immigration than other registered voters, and several of their opinions regarded the relationship between immigration and the workforce.[100] The question asking voters whether undocumented immigrants are as honest as Americans reveals the beliefs of Trump supporters on the effects of immigration on American society.[101] The election of Donald Trump has increased the nativist and populist rhetoric in the United States, and it is clear that the effects of his election are still present as of 2019 based on opinion polls.

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[99] Gramlich, J. (2016). Trump voters want to build the wall, but are more divided on other immigration questions. *Pew Research Center.* https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/29/trump-voters-want-to-build-the-wall-but-are-more-divided-on-other-immigration-questions/
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] *Ibid.*

Skinhead Subculture in the United States

The skinhead movement spread to other countries from the United Kingdom in the 1980s and 1990s through music, the internet, and racist magazines.[102] The skinhead movement became especially popular in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s as younger white supremacists with previous connections to the Ku Klux Klan joined emerging skinhead groups.[103] Although the movement began in the UK, it became increasingly shaped by the American experience. The most well-known and prominent racist skinhead group in the United States was the Hammerskins that originated in Dallas but eventually grew to include chapters in Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, California, Arizona, and Michigan in the late 1980s.[104] By 1989, the Hammerskins had grown internationally, forming viable chapters in Australia, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Serbia, Slovenia and Russia by 1999.[105]

Racist skinhead groups in the United States are known for their violent and isolated attacks on individual immigrants or black Americans.[106] There were a large number of skinhead assaults in the 1980s and 1990s including the murders of black men in Alabama and Texas.[107] By 1989, there were an estimated 3,000 racist skinheads active in the United States.[108] Skinhead

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[102] Borgeson, K., V. Robin Maria, and N. Sweazy. (2017). An Analysis of Skinhead Websites and Social Networks, A Decade Later. *Michigan Sociological Review*, p. 79

[103] Anahita, S. (2006). Blogging the Borders: Virtual Skinheads, Hypermasculinity, and Heteronormativity. P. 402

[104] Reynolds, M. (1999). Hammerskin Nation Emerges From Small Dallas Group. *Intelligence Report*.

[105] *Ibid.*

[106] Southern Poverty Law Center. (2012). Racist Skinheads: Understanding the Threat. *Southern Poverty Law Center*. https://www.splcenter.org/20120625/racist-skinheads-understanding-threat

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] *Ibid.*

groups were most active in the United States during the 1990s, fading off during the 2000s as other right wing extremist groups rose in prominence.[109]

Contemporary White Extremist Groups in the United States

Modern white extremist manifestos left behind by terrorists have consistently referenced contemporary politics.[110] For example, Patrick Crusius, the El Paso shooter, made references to the Democratic debate and called the media 'fake news,' a term popularized by President Donald Trump.[111]

The American Neo-Nazi group Atomwaffen formed in October of 2015.[112] The group primarily operates as a network of terrorist cells, and its ideology is Neo-Nazi accelerationism which articulates that society "ought to be driven into apocalyptic collapse so a white ethnostate or whites-only utopia can be constructed."[113] The group does not operate as a mass movement like other right wing extremist groups but rather favors a leaderless resistance or diffuse networks.[114] The group has been so active in online spaces that it resulted in several offshoots including the Sonnenkrieg Division in the United Kingdom.[115] In recent years, law enforcement

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[109] *Ibid.*

[110] Ware, J. (2020). (Rep.). International Centre for Counter-Terrorism. doi:10.2307/resrep23577 p. 7

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Jackson, P. (2020) Transnational Neo-Nazism in the USA, United Kingdom, and Australia.

[113] Southern Poverty Law Center. (2017). Atomwaffen Division. *Southern Poverty Law Center.* https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/atomwaffen-division

[114] *Ibid.*

[115] ADL Center on Extremism. (2019) Hate Beyond Borders: The Internationalization of White Supremacy. *Anti-Defamation League.* https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/hate-beyond-borders-the-internationalization-of-white-supremacy#introduction

has arrested several Atomwaffen members, including those behind five murders in 2017 and one man planning to bomb a variety of places including synagogues in 2018.[116]

Australia

Historical Context of Australia

What is currently known as Australia was home to the Aboriginal people prior to British settlement in 1788. The settlers of the colony eventually known as New South Wales were prisoners, sentenced to carry out their sentences in the colony under the direction of the Governor, administrators, and soldiers.[117] The Commonwealth of Australia formed from a federation of six British colonies in 1901.[118] With the formation of the Commonwealth in 1901 came a policy known as the "White Australia Policy" which proclaimed that "Australian democracy was to be reserved for those of the 'British race.' Those not of British descent were deemed unassimilable and were to be excluded from Australian society; this applied as much to Aborigines inside Australia as to would-be immigrants outside it."[119] This policy set the requirements for citizenship for much of the 20th century as Australians constructed a national identity separate from that of the United Kingdom. The 'White Australia Policy' was formally abolished in 1973, although it had begun to change in the 1940s under economic pressure.

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[116] Nathan, J. (2018). Antipodean Resistance: The Rise and Goals of Australia's New Nazis. *ABC News.* https://www.abc.net.au/religion/antipodean-resistance-the-rise-and-goals-of-australias-new-nazis/10094794

[117] Keane, J. (2018). *National Identity and Education in Early Twentieth Century Australia: Vol. First edition.* Emerald Publishing Limited p. 3

[118] Levey, G. (2019). Australia's "Liberal Nationalist" Multiculturalism. In Ashcroft R. & Bevir M. (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in the British Commonwealth: Comparative Perspectives on Theory and Practice* (pp. 83-103). Oakland, California: University of California Press. p. 84

[119] *Ibid.*

In the post-second World War period, Australian international relations changed significantly when the United Kingdom entered the European Economic Community. This prompted Australia to increase trade within its own geographic region.[120] The nation began to build its own identity as a Commonwealth, and the actions of the Hawke-Keating government in the 1980s signified a new era in Australian politics and economic policies. In 1983, Bob Hawke was elected prime minister, and his treasurer succeeded him in 1991.[121] Their election resulted not only a shift in economic policy, but an emphasis on the Australian identity.[122]

In contemporary Australian history, the 2016 elections were also extremely important. In 2016, the One Nation Party signaled an emergence of populism in Australia similar to that of the United States and the United Kingdom.[123] The One Nation Party was started by Pauline Hanson after she was disendorsed by the Liberal party in Australia for arguing that aboriginals and Asian people were responsible for much of the country's issues.[124] The party saw a resurgence, along with other right-wing fringe parties, in the 2016 elections as issues of race and immigration once again dominated political discourse in Australia.

Globalization and Populism in Australia

The current effects of globalization on the Australian economy can be traced back to the neoliberal policies of the 1980s. Beginning in the 1980s, Australia adopted similar neoliberal models as other Western countries which reorganized the country's economic system.[125] This

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[120] Moran, A. (2005) Australia: Nation, Belonging, and Globalization p. 20
[121] McAllister, I. (1996). The End of a Labor Era in Australian Politics. *Government and Opposition, 31*(3), p. 288
[122] *Ibid.* p. 289
[123] Monro, D. (2019). Populism? Minor parties and independents in the Australian Federal Parliament, 1945-2016. *Policy Studies, 40*(2), 225–240.
[124] McAllister, I. (1996) The End of a Labor Era in Australian Politics p. 294
[125] Moran, A. (2005) Australia: Nation, Belonging, and Globalization. p. 27

constituted a fundamental change in practice as the government tended to let the market dictate economic policy rather than directly intervening in the domestic economy. [126] The Hawke and Keating governments are largely attributed with reorienting the Australian economy towards globalization as they eliminated tariffs and deregulated the Australian foreign exchange.[127]

As of the 1990s, Australia had fully embraced the economic vision where "the market is king [and] government is small."[128] The reliance on the markets absent of government intervention such as tariff barriers fundamentally changed the Australian economy. Many Australians suffered from these economic reforms as without protective economic measures, several industries collapsed in the 1980s and 1990s.[129] One of the primary effects was that semiskilled or unskilled blue collar workers faced long-term unemployment.[130]

There was a wave of populism in Australia in the late 1990s after the initial globalization policy reforms by the Hawke and Keating Labor governments, led by Pauline Hanson who founded the One Nation political party. Although the popularity of the One Nation Party decreased in the 1990s, growing discontent with the national economy and changing cultural values led to a resurgence in the One Nation Party in 2016 when Christine Hanson and 3 other members were elected to the Australian Senate.[131] The new populist wave in 2016 is comprised of minor parties such as One Nation and the Australian Conservatives. The One Nation Party platform prioritizes abolishing multiculturalism in Australia and implementing legislation

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[126] *Ibid.*
[127] Collins, J. (2008). Globalisation, Immigration and the Second Long Post-War Boom in Australia. *Journal of Australian Political Economy, 61,* 246
[128] The unfinished business of nation-building. (2008). In Butcher J. & Butcher J. (Eds.), *Australia Under Construction: Nation-building past, present and future* (pp. 7-16). ANU Press.
[129] Moran, A. (2005) Australia: Nation, Belonging, and Globalization p. 30
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] Levey, G. (2019). Australia's "Liberal Nationalist" Multiculturalism p. 89

restricting all immigration.[132] As populism gains hold in Australia, the primary focus of cultural backlash is a growing antipathy towards immigrants and the Aboriginal population.

Cultural Backlash in Australia

In Australia, votes for fringe populist parties has been steadily increasing. One of the primary factors in the decision to vote for a fringe party is the desire to return to a prior age, as supporters believe that life in Australia is worse than it was 50 years ago.[133] Additionally, these voters are concerned with cultural change in Australia, and they want to protect that they view as the traditions and history of an older Australia.[134] The rise in nationalist voters in Australia has been catalyzed by what they perceive as threatening social change.[135]

In a series of polls conducted by the Lowy Institute in Australia, the changing views on immigration are clear. Regarding the number of immigrants entering Australia each year, there was a steady growth in the number of Australians who believed that the number of migrants was too high after 2016, only beginning to recede in 2019.[136] The fact that the majority of those surveyed believe that the number of immigrants in the country is too high demonstrates a predominance in anti-immigration sentiments in Australian politics.

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[132] Wood, D., Daley, J., & Chivers, C. (2018). Australia Demonstrates the Rise of Populism is About More than Economics. *Australian Economic Review*, *51*(3). p. 404

[133] *Ibid.*

[134] *Ibid.*

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] The Diplomacy and Public Opinion Polling Program. (2019). Immigration Rate. *Lowy Institute.* https://lowyinstitutepoll.lowyinstitute.org/themes/immigration-and-refugees/

Figure 5: Opinion Poll Conducted in 2014, 2017, 2018, and 2019 Asking Australians Whether the Number of Immigrants to the Country is Too High, Too Low, or About Right

Thinking now about Australia's immigration program. Do you personally think that the total number of migrants coming to Australia each year is too high, too low, or about right?
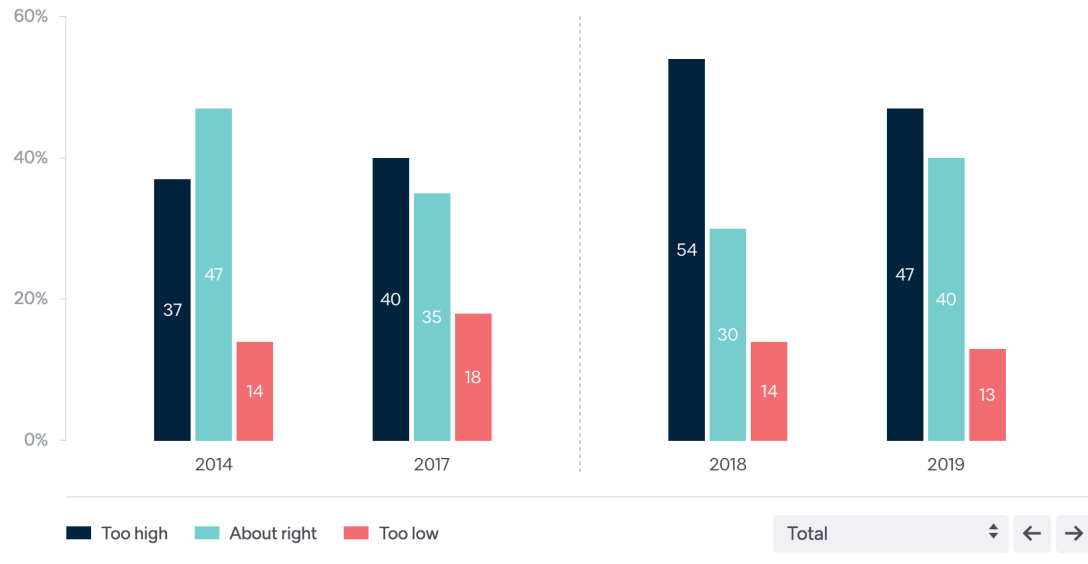
137

The results of the above poll suggest that Australian society is growing increasingly divided regarding the issue of immigration. The anti-immigration attitudes reflected in the poll regarding immigration rate are confirmed by other polls conducted by the Lowy Institute. Another poll reveals that, while a minority, 26% of Australians in 2016 which is now 37% of Australians in 2019, do not believe that accepting immigrants from other countries makes Australia stronger.[138]

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137 *Ibid.*
138 *Ibid.*

139

Figure 6: Opinion Poll Asking Australians About the Effects of Immigrants on Australian Society

Please indicate whether you personally agree or disagree with each of the following statements about immigration.

		Disagree	Agree
Australian cities are already too crowded	2019	29	71
Immigrants strengthen the country because of their hard work and talents	2019	32	67
	2016	24	73
Overall, immigration has a positive impact on the economy of Australia	2019	34	65
	2016	25	72
Accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger	2019	37	62
	2016	26	72
Immigrants are a burden on our social welfare system	2019	50	48
	2016	56	40
Immigrants take away jobs from other Australians	2019	59	40
	2016	62	35

■ Disagree   ■ Agree

Total

The polls reveal the feelings of a significant portion of the Australian population towards immigrants. In particular, the questions regarding the ability of immigrants to strengthen Australia reveals the nativist attitudes that are reflected in support for Australian fringe parties. In a third poll concerning immigration attitudes conducted by the Lowy Institute, 41% of respondents believed that "If Australia is too open to people from all over the world, we risk losing our identity as a nation."[140] Accompanying the growing populism is nativism and xenophobia as a result of cultural backlash as Australia has become progressively more diverse throughout the 20th century.

Figure 7: Opinion Poll Asking Australians Whether Immigration is Central to Australian Identity

Next, just tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views:
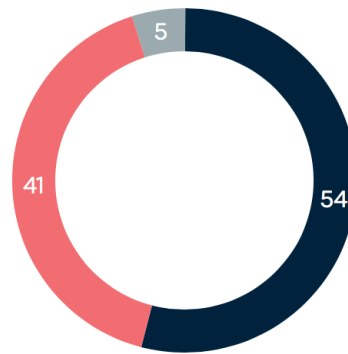
■ Australia's openness to people from all over the world is essential to who we are as a nation

■ If Australia is too open to people from all over the world, we risk losing our identity as a nation

■ Neither/don't know/no view

141

The three opinion polls when taken together, provide a comprehensive look at the beliefs of Australians concerning the effects of immigration on the country. In addition to policy beliefs, the poll asking about the connection between Australian identity and increasing immigration reveals how divided Australian society is as the split is 41% believing that immigration poses a threat to Australian identity to 54% believing immigration is central to Australian identity.[142]

Skinhead Subculture in Australia

Right-wing extremism has an extensive history in Australia, often coinciding with the rise and fall of right-wing political movements. Alongside the founding of parties like One

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[139] The Diplomacy and Public Opinion Polling Program. (2019). Attitudes to Immigration. *Lowy Institute.* https://lowyinstitutepoll.lowyinstitute.org/themes/immigration-and-refugees/
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] The Diplomacy and Public Opinion Polling Program. (2019). Immigration and National Identity. *Lowy Institute.* https://lowyinstitutepoll.lowyinstitute.org/themes/immigration-and-refugees/
[142] *Ibid.*

Nation in the 1990s, skinhead groups became increasingly popular. The Southern Cross Hammerskins, the largest Australian skinhead group, were established in the 1990s.[143] Although the group was formed as a chapter of the American Hammerskins, they altered their ideas and beliefs to reflect Australian history and culture.[144] The skinhead subculture flourished in Australia after law enforcement targeted other extreme right groups like National Action and the Australian Nationalist Movement.[145] Members of those groups the joined popular skinhead groups like the Southern Cross Hammerskins, Combat 18/Blood and Honour, and the Women of the Southern Legion.[146]

Skinhead subculture in Australia in the early 1990s is visible in pop culture such as the movie, Romper Stomper featuring Russell Crowe which came out in 1992. The movie is based on a skinhead gang that was active in Melbourne Australia.[147] Skinhead movements in Australia are extremely Anti-Asian and Islamophobic,[148] and several members of skinhead groups have been arrested for death threats against immigration supporters and members of the Australian public.[149] Despite these representations, compared the United States and the United Kingdom, skinhead movements in Australia were relatively small (CITE).

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[143] Campion, K. (2019). A "Lunatic Fringe"? The Persistence of Right Wing Extremism in Australia. *Perspectives on Terrorism, 13*(2), 2-20. P. 11
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] Campion, K. (2019). Right-wing extremism has a long history in Australia and support is surging. *ABC News.* https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-21/right-wing-extremism-has-a-long-history-in-australia/10923168
[147] Southern Poverty Law Center. (2012). Racist Skinheads: Understanding the Threat.
[148] White, A. (2014). The pro-white gangs spreading race hate across Australia. *Herald Sun.* https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/law-order/the-prowhite-gangs-spreading-race-hate-across-australia/news-story/7384aef1faabe901d9f6937756a76ea8
[149] *Ibid.*

Contemporary White Extremist Groups in Australia

The group Antipodean Resistance began on the Iron March website in 2016.[150] The group is a neo-Nazi group, with an agenda that is based in white supremacy, homophobia, and anti-Semitism.[151] In a self-description on their website, they stated that

"We are not a mass movement. We do not want the masses. We want the *fanatics*, the
people who care and who will fight, both during activism *and* during their day to day
lives to bring about the beauty that is National Socialism. We want quality people who
mean what they say and will *not back down*. We are striving for nothing less than the
national rebirth of our people. And we will get there only with those *fanatic* enough to do
something about it."[152]

Their formation is largely based in individual recruitment, with many members under the age of 30[153] without identifying marks such as tattoos. Since its inception in Melbourne in 2016, Antipodean resistance has spread to at least 17 other cities in Australia.[154]

Another prominent right-wing extremist group in Australia is the Lads Society which has been connected to Brenton Tarrant, the terrorist who carried out the Christchurch attack. Although the attack was not carried out in Australia, it was an Australian behind the Christchurch attack in New Zealand. In Brenton Tarrant's manifesto, he named American politics as an influence in his planning, attributing his choice of using guns as creating conflict between American ideologies to "further the social, cultural, political, and racial divide within

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[150] Nathan, J. (2018). Antipodean Resistance: The Rise and Goals of Australia's New Nazis.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] *Ibid.*

the United States."[155] This reference demonstrates that Tarrant was paying detailed attention to

the political rhetoric of Donald Trump and American politics.

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[155] Ware, J. (2020). (Rep.). International Centre for Counter-Terrorism p. 7

Analysis

Historical Factors

Prior to the 20th and 21st centuries, there was a similar narrative surrounding whiteness and immigration in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. This narrative was based off of the common history of settler colonialism as "[a] commitment to white mobility and nonwhite mobility was in fact central to the logic of settler colonialism as practiced throughout the British and American empires: populating the earth's "empty spaces" with white bodies necessitated expunging or prohibiting the movement and settlement of nonwhite bodies."[156] Prior to immigration in the 20th centuries, each country had a clear history based in eradicating the indigenous populations which either inhabited the land that was settled, such as in the United States and Australia, or had a history of marginalizing the indigenous populations of other countries they colonized which occurred at the hands of all three. All three countries passed extensive legislation aimed at restricting the immigration of citizens from nonwhite countries in the 20th century, much of which was based in theories concerning eugenics as is obvious in the name of Australia's policy: The White Australia Policy. As these acts were repealed in each country during the mid-late 20th century, immigration increased and each country grew increasingly more diverse. Increasing immigration, especially from non-white countries has transformed the racial and ethnic composition of Western countries.[157] The codified racism that had existed in the way of legislation in each country gave way to a fervent anti-immigrant

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[156] Atkinson, D. (2016*). The Burden of White Supremacy: Containing Asian Migration in the British Empire and the United States,* p. 10
[157] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 203

rhetoric which still sought to distinguish the white residents of the country from non-white immigrants arriving to the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia.

The combination of an increasingly diverse society in the late 20th century was coupled with the adoption of neoliberal economic policies by conservative administrations in the 1980s. These adoptions exposed each country to the increasing effects of globalization which permanently altered the economies within each country as national economies became increasingly integrated into the international economic environment.

Globalization and Populism

During the 20th century, each country became progressively more integrated into the world economy, and as other countries developed quickly and began to venture into the realm of mining and manufacturing, the lack of tariffs or protective barriers for the industries in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia resulted in the decimation of their respective industries. Although these effects began after the introduction of neoliberal policies in the 1980s, their effects became more magnified moving into the 21st century. The election outcomes of 2016 are mostly attributed to the reaction of those who were 'left behind' by the politics focused on globalization.[158] In analyses concerning the connections between populism and economic insecurity, there was a significant correlation of populism and income insecurity.[159] Indirect effects of economic insecurity include concerns about immigration, unemployment, welfare, and terrorism which also drives support for populist parties with these issues as the main platform.[160] These anxieties are then identified and built upon by populist leaders which increase antipathy

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[158] Bhambra, G.K. (2017), Brexit, Trump, and 'methodological whiteness': on the misrecognition of race and class. P. 214, 215
[159] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 166
[160] *Ibid.,* p. 167

towards immigrants who are viewed as taking jobs belonging to "native" Australians, Americans, or Brits and perceived as unable to fully assimilate.

The degree of economic integration was the most significant for the United Kingdom, as the economic integration necessitated by the European Single Market is one of the most comprehensive forms of liberal globalization. The significant progression in integration signaled by the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 catalyzed a burgeoning populism in the form of Euroskepticism which became progressively more nationalist and anti-immigrant up until the referendum in 2016.[161] In comparison, the United States and Australia faced different struggles with adapting to globalization.

Each case study demonstrates the presence of right-leaning populist waves in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia which are characterized by nationalist rhetoric. The significant success of UKIP and the Tory party in the UK, the Republican party in the US, and a combination of fringe parties, including the One Nation party, in Australia signaled a changing political environment, concentrated on anti-immigrant and white nationalist sentiment. Although right-wing populist parties have slight differences around the world, their platforms share anti-immigration policies and rhetoric, nationalism, and a concern for cultural protection against foreigners.[162]

Language is an important factor in right-wing populism, which reaches far beyond immigration policies, but "amplif[ies] the politics of fear, using simple transgressive language, identifying scapegoats as the culprits for our problems, and legitimating Us/Them exclusion."[163]

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[161] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism,* p. 371
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 11
[163] *Ibid.*, p. 187

The words of populist leaders such as Donald Trump have amplified white supremacist thought[164] with forays into dog-whistle politics[165] which has had clear impact in the public attitudes of their supporters. In the Western world, it appears that the resurgence of nationalist rhetoric demonstrates this amplification and the opposition to globalization.[166] Primarily responsible is the lack of financial support for the industries that were made obsolete by the neoliberal policies of the 1980s and 1990s such as mining and manufacturing, which those who feel 'left behind' blame on the increasing number of immigrants coming to each country.

Cultural Backlash

The public attitudes of each country demonstrate a high concern with the effects of immigration on overall culture and national identity. Immigration is associated with cultural change that contradicts traditional values as the different languages, religions and lifestyles appear to be in conflict with those of the white working class.[167] In the United Kingdom, preference regarding country of immigration demonstrates a clear preference for white countries with cultures 'similar' to that of the UK. The difference between Remain and Leave voters after the 2016 referendum makes clear the strong division between portions of the population, and that the feelings of nationalism are strongly associated with anti-immigrant beliefs.

The evidence of cultural backlash occurring, particularly in attitudes concerning immigration, have occurred across Western democracies. Anti-immigrant sentiments have

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[164] What is White Nationalism. The Economist. 2019. https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2019/08/14/what-is-white-nationalism

[165] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2016) Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash, p. 7

[166] Brents, B. and P. Simi (2008) An Extreme Response to Globalization: The Case of Racist Skinhead Youth. p. 185

[167] Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism* p. 203

permitted populist and right-leaning political parties to endorse extremely nationalist policies.[168]

After the Trump election and Brexit referendum, white supremacist ideals and policies were

validated as legitimate forms of political debate and rhetoric in the 21st century.[169] The saturation

of political rhetoric with a nationalism that is strongly anti-immigrant has served not only as a

justification for many white extremist groups who feel invigorated but as an invitation to

increase their efforts in forming a white society.

Skinhead Subculture

Skinhead subcultures emerged in each country alongside the symbolic dismissal of racist

legislation prohibiting the entrance of immigrants as well as increased globalization. These

phenomena are not unrelated as right wing extremist groups are believed to have formed because

as tolerance for racial exclusivity as entrenched in law was removed, opposition to immigrants

increased who were seen as responsible for economic downturns.[170] Skinhead groups began by

reacting to the effects of globalization at a local level, prompting the individualized, violent

attacks on immigrants detailed in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia.[171] Racist

skinhead violence has taken the form of vandalism, harassment, and murder but the style of

violence is termed as gang violence as opposed to terroristic violence.[172] The movements in each

country intensified during the 1980s after the introduction of liberalizing economic policies

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[168] *Ibid.* p. 205

[169] El-Enany, N. (2018). The next British empire: Nostalgia for Britain's imperial past is fuelling a dangerous white supremacist mindset that we all need to be vigilant against. *IPPR Progressive Review*, *25*(1), p. 34

[170] Campion, K. (2019). A "Lunatic Fringe"? The Persistence of Right Wing Extremism in Australia.

[171] Brents, B. and P. Simi (2008) An Extreme Response to Globalization: The Case of Racist Skinhead Youth. p. 189

[172] Southern Poverty Law Center. (2020). Racist Skinhead. *Southern Poverty Law Center.* https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/racist-skinhead

which resulted in the downturn of many industries primarily staffed by white, blue collar citizens.

The relationship of skinhead subcultures with globalization occurred in both directions as although skinhead groups formed in response to globalization, they began to utilize its effects to their own benefit. This is exemplified by moving from uncoordinated groups to using the internet and technology to form global connections with other white supremacist organizations.[173] The globalized networks of white supremacists initially formed by skinheads provided a blueprint for white extremist groups today on how to form international linkages.

For the white extremist youth in the United States, symbols like the Confederate flag signified the development of a white identity in response to increasing immigration from non-white countries to the United States.[174] Skinhead groups formed in each country, but the identity of the groups were the strongest in the United States and the United Kingdom due to their heavily localized identity as the skinheads in the United States built off of the existing structures and membership of the KKK and other groups, and the skinhead movement originated in the United Kingdom.

Contemporary White Extremist Groups

Concerning contemporary white extremism, there are multiple indicators that white extremism is on the rise across the globe. In the United States in 2018, right-wing extremists killed more people than in any year since 1995, the year of the Oklahoma City bombing,[175] and

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[173] *Ibid.* p. 185

[174] Blazak, R. (2008) Ethnic Envy: How teens construct whiteness in globalized America. Globalizing the Streets *Globalizing the Streets: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Youth, Social Control, and Empowerment* p. 180

[175] (2019) What is White Nationalism. *The Economist*. https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2019/08/14/what-is-white-nationalism

coordination between white extremists across the globe is only increasing as technology permits right wing extremists to evolve in communication with other groups.[176]

The rhetoric of National Action in the United Kingdom signals a departure from the organization and mission of prior white nationalist groups such as the skinheads. The identification of the global economic system as the root of the immigration issues preventing a "white Britain" suggests a higher level of sophistication to the group. Whereas skinhead groups were reacting on a local to globalization, as exhibited through the more individualistic violence, contemporary white extremist groups like National Action have identified the connections between increased immigration and globalization.

The mode of action undertaken by groups such as National Action, Atomwaffen, and Antipodean Resistance is also quite different from the skinheads. Whereas skinheads primarily attacked individual immigrants on the streets in a brash and violent fashion, the networks of white supremacists today encourage their followers to act on their own in a way that both pays homage to previous white extremist terrorists and furthers their goals for a white ethnostate. This has resulted in mass shootings and bombings which have given the groups notoriety and the manifestos have demonstrated they are meant to solidify the rhetoric of far-right populist leaders.

Conclusion

This thesis demonstrated that the latent effects of globalization on the domestic economies of the United Kingdom, United States, and Australia have resulted in unprecedented cultural backlash which populist parties have capitalized on, in turn fueling white extremist violence. The immediate, localized effects of neoliberal policies in the 1980s and 1990s formed

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[176] Campion, K. (2019). A "Lunatic Fringe"? The Persistence of Right Wing Extremism in Australia. P. 2

the racist skinhead movements which acted in violent manners against individual immigrants. However, contemporary accelerationist Neo-Nazis currently encourage their followers to commit 'lone wolf' style acts of mass terror in pursuit of a white ethno-state. An objective which leaders such as Benjamin Raymond believe their populist parties desire but are too afraid to publicly identify. The United States is a leading example of how all of these factors have collected, followed by the United Kingdom, then Australia. A key distinction between the United Kingdom and the other case studies is the willingness and ability of the government to act against groups such as National Action by designating the group as a terrorist group and arresting members before they are able to commit heinous acts. The decision to take action in this manner has possibly mitigated the acts of mass terror that have been carried out by Australian and American groups such as the El Paso shooting or the Christchurch attack.

The lack of support for industries suffering at the hands of a liberalized globalization has only amplified the anti-immigrant rhetoric visible today. In order to avoid the type of economic discontent that fueled the right-leaning populist movements, Western governments must provide economic support to those suffering from unemployment as manufacturing and mining industries have moved abroad. Economic support and retraining opportunities are two immediate options to support the unemployed, but on the national level, countries ought to take advantage of more protectionist measures that can protect their own industries and workers instead of solely favoring a more liberal economic order with no trade barriers.

With the types of economic supports discussed above, it is possible that a far-right populist backlash could be avoided. Current populist leaders drive support towards their parties by pinning the economic woes of their supporters on immigrants arriving to their country. This both incites cultural backlash as well as legitimizes the beliefs of many white supremacists. This

analysis has demonstrated how closely linked the factors of economics, politics, and culture are; all of which individually have impacts on white supremacy in a country but when combined have the potential to increase acts of terrorism. As white extremist violence increases around the world, it is important to discern what created the environment that has allowed it not only to grow but to thrive. Creating these connections permits the formulation of a theory which would allow governments to take the steps necessary to ensure white extremism does not continue to thrive in the future. The implications of this research warrants further studies concerning difficult case studies in order to discern whether the factors when combined in countries with different historical and cultural backgrounds yield similar results.

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    4446.12317 p. 214,215

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