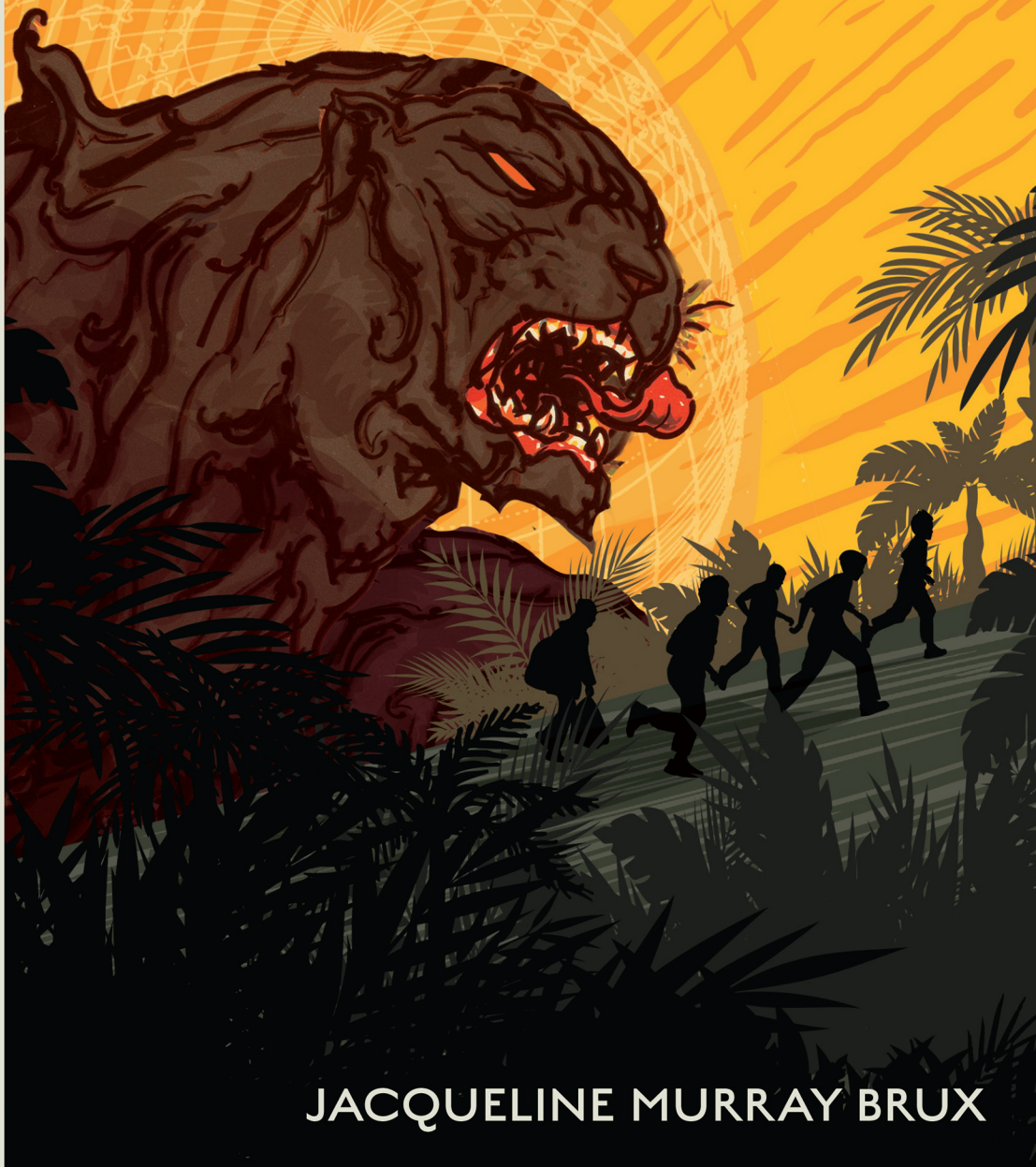


The Global Intersection of
**NATIONALISTIC
POPULISM *and*
IMMIGRATION**



JACQUELINE MURRAY BRUX

The Global Intersection of Nationalistic Populism and Immigration

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BY

JACQUELINE MURRAY BRUX

University of Wisconsin-River Falls, USA



United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

This is dedicated to the late Sinéad O'Conner, who felt to me like a younger version of myself. We were conflicted about many of the same things. But she brought pride to the name Mandinka, she called out a famine that wasn't a famine, and she presaged Black Lives Matter with her London-based song, "Black Boys on Mopeds." I miss you, Sinéad.

If you can change ownership of the facts; you can alter the structure of belief, what is agreed upon ... if you say one thing is another thing and you say it enough times, then it must be so, and if you keep saying it over and over people accept it as true Sooner or later, of course, reality reveals itself ... you can borrow for a time against reality but reality is always waiting, patiently, silently, to exact a price and level the scales.

By Paul Lynch, *Prophet Song*, pp. 20–21

Contents

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	<i>xi</i>
About the Author	<i>xiii</i>
Foreword	<i>xv</i>
Preface	<i>xvii</i>
Acknowledgments	<i>xviii</i>

Section I Introduction

Chapter 1 Introduction	3
Definitions of Economic Systems	5
Chapter 2 Definitions of Political Systems	9
Democracy	9
Authoritarianism	11
Chapter 3 Definitions of Ideologies: Populism, Nationalism, and Nationalistic Populism	19
Populism	19
Nationalism	21
Nationalistic Populism	21
The Link to Authoritarianism	21

Section II US Ideology

Chapter 4 US Ideology: Nationalistic Populism	25
The Characters	25
The Characteristics	34
Trumpian Plans	40
US Americans Live in Silos	41

Chapter 5 US Ideology: Authoritarianism	43
Trump's Authoritarianism	43
Trumpian Events and Plans	49

Section III European Ideology

Chapter 6 European Ideology: Nationalistic Populism and Authoritarianism	57
The Nordic Countries	58
Western Europe	60
Eastern Europe	66
Chapter 7 European Repercussions of the US 2024 Presidential Election	73
Trump Favorites and Least Favorites	73
Trump Views	76
My Advice to Europe and Canada	81

Section IV Global Migration

Chapter 8 Global Migration	85
Systems and Ideologies	85
Opposition to Migration	87
Chapter 9 US Immigration	89
From Where Do US Refugees Originate?	89
US Opposition to Immigration	90
The Future of US Immigration	95
Chapter 10 European Migration	99
European Migrants by the Numbers	99
Specific Countries and Regions	100
European Opposition to Immigration	105
Chapter 11 Developing Country Migration	107
Causes of Migration	107
The Consequences of Nationalistic Populism	110

Section V The Developing Countries

Chapter 12 Developing Country Standards of Living	113
The Size of the Economy	114
The Distribution of Income and the Composition of Output	114
Direct Measures of Standards of Living	116
A Consolidation	118
Chapter 13 The United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals	123
Education and Health	124
Ethnic Equality	128
Chapter 14 Africa	131
Sudan	132
Somalia	134
Mozambique	136
Chapter 15 Asia	139
Syria	139
Indonesia	141
Myanmar	143
Afghanistan	144
Chapter 16 Latin America	147
Haiti	147
Venezuela	149
The Northern Triangle	150

Section VI Global Happiness

Chapter 17 Indicators and Thoughts on Happiness	155
The Good Life (The Harvard Study)	155
The UN World Happiness Report	156
Other Views of Happiness	160
Afterword: Nationalistic Populism and Its Place in Academia, Political Discourse, and Reality	165
Bibliography	167
Index	177

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACA	Affordable Care Act (Obamacare)
AFD	Alternative for Germany
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CDC	Center for Disease Control
CPAC	(American) Conservative Political Action Conference
DC	District of Columbia (Washington, DC)
DEI	Diversity, equity, and inclusion
DOGE	US Department of Government Efficiency
DR	Democratic Republic
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EU	European Union
FBI	US Federal Bureau of Investigation
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNI:	Gross national income
GNP	Gross national product
GOP	Government of the People (US Republican Party)
IRA	Irish Republican Army
LGBTQ	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (questioning)
MAGA	Make America Great Again
NATO	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGO	Nongovernment organization
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
RNC	Republican National Committee
RSF	Rapid Support Forces
SAF	Sudanese Armed Forces
TPS	Temporary Protected Status
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WHO	World Health Organization

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About the Author

Jacqueline Murray Brux is an Esteemed Emeritus Professor of Economics and Former Director of the Center for International Development. She is a development economist and has worked across Africa, Asia, and Latin America. She also specializes in social policy and is the author of two textbooks: *Economic Issues and Policy*, 8th Edition (Wessex) and *Political Economy, Nationalistic Populism, and Immigration in Today's World* (Routledge) and several other books. Her background includes political economy, and her passions include developing countries, immigrants, the UN Sustainable Development Goals, and social justice.

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Foreword

This monograph shows how the ideology of nationalistic populism and the reality of immigration intersect in a two-directional causal fashion in the world today. Nationalistic populism is a growing ideology, and case studies of the United States and several Nordic, Western European, and Eastern European countries show the prevalence of this ideology that universally uses immigrants (and other marginalized people) as scapegoats for the grievances of its backers. Widespread support for nationalistic populism developed amid the waves of migration triggered by the failures of the Arab Spring, and support for this ideology has been escalating in reaction to continued migration caused by poverty and crises across the developing countries – often with origins in the developed world. This migration, in turn, drives the spread of nationalistic populism, such that the effects become causal in both directions. The monograph carefully examines several developing country case studies across Africa, Asia, and Latin America as sources of migration, often relying on first-person testimonials; in the same way, it addresses several developed countries' case studies as sources of nationalistic populism. It is intended for researchers, professionals, and upper-level students of world affairs. The goal is that by informing ourselves, we can widen the discussion and make the world more fully aware of the dangers of global nationalistic populism as it threatens decency, democracy, and diverse marginalized people, especially immigrants, in every part of the world.

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Preface

This monograph is, in a sense, my life story. I was born in Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, and became a dual citizen of the United States at age 18. Despite being officially dual, I spiritually and emotionally fled the United States one year ago, when President Joe Biden continued his relentless pursuit of the delusional cease-fire deal with Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. This took place amid a rising national admiration for an alternative candidate – a disgraced, twice-impeached, convicted felon, and sexual predator with a penchant for lies, racism, xenophobia, authoritarianism, and the infliction of pain on others. I got myself a tattoo of the Saskatchewan Lily (Saskatchewan's provincial flower) and returned my heart to Canada.

Since the monograph is not specifically targeted toward students, I feel much freer to express my personal opinions. As I suggested, this monograph stems from my heart's journey. Always a social justice activist, Vietnam led me to focus my university studies on Southeast Asia and eventually travel to and conduct economic research in this beautiful country. The world food crisis of the early 1970s was my call to economic development. Black Lives Matter led me to focus on diversity and racial minorities as victims of populism. My meeting with Somali refugees in Kenya who were migrating to my Twin Cities metropolitan area home led me to advocate for immigrants. And as I say, Gaza led my soul back to Canada.

My monograph entails my passion for the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America; my compassion for immigrants; my horror over the US policy (fundamentally based on greed, racism, and contempt for the poor); and my transglobal interests in Europe.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to Keith, Corey, Christina, Clementine, Wesley, Adrian, and Maliyah.
What would I ever do without you?

Section I

Introduction

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Chapter 1

Introduction

On the evening of November 5, 2024, before the US presidential election results started rolling in, I completed and submitted my manuscript for a new college textbook entitled, *Political Economy, Nationalistic Populism, and Immigration in Today's World*, just as I had promised my publisher and readers. I intentionally told student readers up front in the book that, “By the time you read this, you will know the results of the US presidential election – this book is therefore not intended to influence anyone’s vote, but perhaps to explain why people voted the way they did.”

For the first 24 hours after the election results were announced, I shared perhaps a universal experience with anti-Trumpers globally: I was in some stage of grief: shock, numbness, and inability to think. I spent those 24 hours eating caramel corn and watching television crime shows that had nothing to do with the elections or anything else in the real world.

That 24 hours turned into days and then into weeks. And then, I got to work. The first thing I did was write this monograph.

This monograph is loosely based on the textbook I just mentioned, except for the following:

- Now we all know the results of the election, and are trying to figure out how to process what it means for our lives, our countries, and our world.
- This monograph is considerably shorter and has a narrower focus than the textbook, and it is targeted to researchers and professionals, as well as some higher-level students. This enables me to be freer with my own opinions rather than being straightforward, just the facts, ma’am.
- I will divulge my national identity up front. I was born in Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, and became a dual citizen of the United States at age 18. I have worked and researched across Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and while I’ve been to several European countries, most notably pre-Putin Russia. I spend much of my time in Norway, where my daughter and grandchildren live.

Despite being officially dual, I spiritually and emotionally fled the United States one year ago, when President Joe Biden continued his relentless pursuit of the delusional ceasefire deal with Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Biden could have put an end to the devastation of Gaza with one phone call and instead he allowed its spread to Lebanon. I joined the uncommitted movement,¹ got a tattoo on my wrist of the Saskatchewan Lily (Saskatchewan's provincial flower), and held up that hand in front of my bedroom mirror and officially unofficially took back my oath of allegiance to the American flag. (I don't have the time or money to do it officially, just as I lack the resources and mental acuity to decide whether to move to Canada or Norway, for a little or a long while, and what to do about my family including my husband remaining in the Twin Cities metro.) I did experience a brief weight off my shoulders with that simple act and tattoo, but the guilt and shame remain. To the world, I apologize for this country I live in, for its election of Donald Trump, and for its role in Gaza, Lebanon, and across the world.

I am an Emeritus Professor of Economics and former Director of the Center for International Development. My specialty is economic development (Africa, Asia, and Latin America), and I have a political economy background. Given all this, these are my thoughts as I proceed to address the intersection of global nationalistic populism, the bigotry and xenophobia inherent within it, and the conditions and crises in the developing countries that drive residents to flee their homes. Despite the United States being a major cause of the crises in the developing world with its bombs, guns, consumerism, corporate power, climate emissions, and history of imperialism; and despite Europe being the source of colonialism and its repercussions of ethnic conflict today; the people in crisis become the unwanted and vilified migrants to countries throughout much of Europe and the United States at this moment.

Just as I submitted my previous textbook manuscript prior to the November 2024 election results, I am intentionally submitting this new monograph prior to Donald Trump's January 20, 2025, inauguration as US President. By the time you read this, you will know more than I know now. However, even as I write this, we already know quite a bit. We know the repeated promises of the president-elect, his chosen candidates for cabinet posts and official positions, and his intention to enact the plans laid out in Project 2025 (2025) and the Republican National Committee (RNC) platform.² Project 2025 is a product of the rightwing Heritage Foundation and was written by many former Trump officials who remain hard right and loyal to his cause. The RNC platform is in fact a Trump platform, forced into place by Trump himself. These will be referenced occasionally

¹The uncommitted movement was a US movement of people opposed to US support for Israel in the Gaza war. Participants refused to vote for Vice President Harris in the presidential primaries. Many of these same people refused to vote for her in the general election as well.

²Project 2025, "Presidential Transition Project: Building For Conservative Victory Through Policy, Personnel, and training;" and Republican National Committee, "GOP Platform Make America Great Again."

throughout the text. We also know that Trump is now the world's most famous nationalistic populist.

Definitions of Economic Systems

Socialism and Capitalism

If we view economic systems along a broad and lengthy spectrum that ranges from left to right, then pure socialism is on the far left and pure capitalism is on the far right. On the far left, the government owns the means of production and makes the economic decisions; on the far right, the means of production are privately owned, and the economic decisions are made by private individuals and businesses in a free and competitive marketplace. Examples of economic decisions are prices: on the right, they are determined by the interaction between private individuals and businesses in a competitive marketplace; whereas on the left, they are set by the government.

Of course, there are no real-world examples of pure socialism and pure capitalism. All countries fall somewhere along the economic spectrum. Some lean toward the left, such as the democratic socialist countries we see in the Nordics and many other countries in Europe; in the views of some politicians in the United States like Senator Bernie Sanders and Representative Alexandria Ocasio Cortez; and in the views of some politicians in Europe such as France's Jean-Luc Mélenchon and Sweden's Zeth Höglund. Other countries tend toward the right, such as the neo-liberal nations of the United States and Switzerland. Those on the left favor greater government intervention in the marketplace, such as more social programs, regulations, and anti-trust activity; whereas those on the right believe the marketplace does well if left alone with minimal government interference.

Economists talk of market failures, such as the untoward influence of large, concentrated industries; though people who espouse capitalism frequently fail to see that that unregulated market power – the ability to influence the market price by a single producer of automobiles but not by a single farmer who grows corn – violates the concept of competitive economic systems. Competition requires a large number of small businesses (where “small” means relative to the market). The desire for the government to remove itself from the economy means that a non-competitive environment is free to flourish. Hence, the irony: an unfettered marketplace devolves from capitalism to an economy with enormous power in the hands of a few owners of businesses in highly concentrated industries. It becomes something more akin to monopoly capitalism. (Unfortunately, there goes democracy as well, but that is for another chapter.)

Other market failures amid capitalist markets include the inability of the marketplace to deliver public goods and services, such as highway construction and police departments. The marketplace similarly fails to assure equity, such as protection of residents from poverty, homelessness, discrimination, child and elder abuse, dangerous consumer goods, and exploitative working conditions. And the marketplace certainly fails to manage externalities, which are the costs (or benefits) that spill over from production or consumption activities onto society at large – the most notable of which are pollution, including climate emissions.

Economists of all stripes favor some degree of government intervention in the economy: the issues lie in how much and in which ways. Economists on the left generally favor equity (fairness), and those on the right favor efficiency (high growth and productivity). In reality, the two are not incompatible. Certainly, a healthy and educated population goes a long way toward a productive economy, not to mention the ability to discern and elect proper leaders and actively participate in a democracy.

Communism and Marxism

We will not be directly addressing communism and Marxism in this monograph, though they entail both economic and political systems. Part of the reason is that much of the public discourse does not use the terms accurately. People, including politicians at the top, throw out terms such as these as slurs against people they dislike. This tactic is not new, especially for the United States. For example, as Naziism was spreading in the 1930s United States, the populist Catholic priest, Fr. Charles Coughlin, shouted, “We all know for whom we’re voting if we vote for Mr [Franklin Delano] Roosevelt – for the Communists, the Socialists, the Russian lovers, the Mexico lovers, the kick-me downers!”³ Roosevelt was none of these things.

In the United States, Trump has claimed he is being persecuted by “communists” and “Marxists,” and that Biden, “together with a band of his closest thugs, misfits and Marxists, tried to destroy American democracy.” In his pre-election tirades, he charged that the United States could soon become a “third world Marxist regime” or a “tyrannical Marxist nation.” He later referred to his 2024 presidential opposition candidate, Vice President Kamala Harris, as “a radical left, Marxist, communist fascist.”⁴ (Trump clearly does not understand the meaning of Marxism, communism, and fascism. I know for a fact that he could never read Marx’s *Das Kapital* or *The Communist Manifesto* sitting on my bookshelf.) The 2024 Republican (Trump) official platform includes the phrase, “we will keep foreign Christian-hating Communists, Marxists, and Socialists out of America.”⁵ None of these are meaningful terms – they are more akin to potty language by adults who should know better.

Even within academics, however, there are varied definitions of communism. The Oxford definition of communism is “a political theory derived from Karl Marx, advocating class war and leading to a society in which all property is publicly owned and each person works and is paid according to their abilities and needs.”⁶ This is a good definition, but it is not especially useful to our needs in this monograph. Marxism itself is a highly theoretical and mathematical model

³Maddow, *Prequel*, pp. 85–91.

⁴Swenson, “Trump and Other Republicans Conjure a Familiar Enemy in Attacking Democrats as ‘Communists’.”

⁵Republican National Committee, “GOP Platform Make America Great Again.”

⁶Oxford Languages (2025), *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd edition.

of the contradictions of capitalism that I still struggle to digest despite a graduate course specifically on this mathematical model.

One working definition of communism is “a combination of a socialist economic system with an authoritarian political system.” While this is my preferred definition, you will discover that if you use your search engine to find a list of communist countries, there will be an abundance of so-called communist countries that do not fit this description. For purposes of clarity, we will simply avoid the use of the terms communism and Marxism.

We now move on to a discussion of the political systems of democracy and authoritarianism.