

2021

The Impact of Far-Right Groups on the Lives of Latinas/os in Gwinnett County Georgia

Collins Uhuangho
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Collins Osa Uhuangho

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Review Committee

Dr. Lori Demeter, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Julian Muhammad, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Olivia Yu, University Reviewer,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer and Provost
Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

Walden University
2021

Abstract

The Impact of Far-Right Groups on the Lives of Latinas/os
in Gwinnett County Georgia

by

Collins Uhuangho

MBA, Webster University St. Louis, 2003

BSc, University of Benin, Nigeria, 1999

Proposal Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Public Policy & Administration

Walden University

November 2021

Abstract

The research problem that this study sought to address was the effects of far-right groups on the lives of Latinas/os. The research problem is important as far-right groups can spread racism- and violence-related propaganda and assault, insult, and racially discriminate against minorities and immigrants, which likely negatively impacts the lives of the victimized individuals. The purpose of the study was to explore how the Latina/o population living in the County are impacted by far-right groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The main research question was: To what extent are Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia, affected by the presence of racism- and violence-related propaganda, insult, assault, and racial discrimination by extremist far-right groups? The theoretical framework was Latina/o critical race theory (LatCrit). The general qualitative study consisted of interviewing 20 Latina/o participants who live in Gwinnett County, Georgia. Social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Reddit, and LinkedIn) were utilized for recruitment. Thematic analysis via NVivo software was used to analyze the collected data to help discern crucial themes and patterns. The study participants reported negative encounters, receiving insults, assault and discrimination. Due to this form of treatment at the hands of far-right groups, participants became stressed, depressed, and suffered performance issues at school and the workplace. The current study may help promote positive social change by providing knowledge that can be used to improve existing local and state governments' policies to ensure better protection of minorities and immigrants.

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Dedication

I dedicate this doctoral study to my grandmother, Comfort Otamere Odigie, my parents, father Johnson E. Uhuangho and mother Grace O. Odigie; my wife Irese Uhuangho; and my three children Esohe Uhuangho, Esosa Uhuangho, and Ivie Uhuangho, for being my greatest cheer leaders. I thank the almighty God above all else for granting me strength.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my committee members: Dr. Lori Demeter, my chair; Dr. Julian K. Muhammad, my second committee member; and my university research reviewer Dr. Olivia Yu. I thank you for your expertise, guidance, and support in helping me complete my doctoral study. I remain eternally grateful.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The United States is a richly diverse nation with a citizenry that consists of people from different races, nationalities, ethnicities, cultures, and religions. The State Department's Diversity Visa (DV) gives 55,000 people from different countries outside the United States the opportunity to immigrate annually (Hooper & Batalova, 2015). These and other initiatives have led to a significant improvement in the nation's diversity. Despite the rich diversity that has been promoted in the nation, minorities and immigrants face opposition and discrimination from some quarters. Many far-right or extreme-right groups are deeply opposed to minorities and immigration (Adamczyk et al., 2014). Such groups are at the extreme right of the left-right political spectrum, and many support nativism, extreme nationalism, and authoritarianism (Chermak et al., 2013). Examples of groups listed under the far-right label are the Alt-right, Fascists, neo-Fascists, Nazis, and neo-Nazis (Chermak et al., 2013). Such extreme-right groups have been observed to be rising in the United States (Adamczyk et al., 2014).

The observed rise of far-right groups has been raising concerns in the country because many such groups have been involved in violence, racial discrimination, and opposition to immigrants (Chermak et al., 2013). Extreme-right groups pose a danger to the lives and wellbeing of minorities and immigrants. Parkin et al. (2015) investigated 141 homicides perpetrated by far-right groups and members of such groups and categorized the murders according to the ideologies that motivated the same, namely anti-racial minority, anti-social minority, antiabortion, and antigovernment (Parkin et al.,

2015). Other acts of crime committed by far-right groups include property destruction, assault, and orchestrated acts of terrorism (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018).

In this study, I focused on the effects that far-right groups have had on the lives of minorities and immigrants in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The nativist ideology and extreme nationalism held by extreme-right groups pitch them against minorities and immigrants in the United States. The groups and their members have engaged in discrimination, assault, and murder of minorities in the country. Such attacks negatively affect the lives of minorities and immigrants.

Background of the Problem

Far-right organizations are now quite active in the United States and Europe (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018). The immigration crisis facing Europe has helped garner support for such organizations in Europe (Halla et al., 2017). The groups exaggerate the issue of immigration and, at times, demonize immigrants. Extreme far-right groups, members of the groups, and supporters of such groups have been reported to engage in criminal and violent behavior. The property crimes and violent crimes datasets maintained by the Combating Terrorism Center reveal that crimes perpetrated by extreme far-right organizations and their members in the United States include murder, property destruction, assault, and orchestrated acts of terrorism (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018).

The murder of Richard Collins III by Christopher Urbanski in 2017 at the University of Maryland is an example of a murder perpetrated by a member of an extreme-right group for ideological reasons (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018). Crimes committed by lone wolves who are affiliated to such groups are also on the rise in the

United States (Gruenewald et al., 2013). Some far-right groups and individuals are willing to commit ideologically motivated crimes (Parkin et al., 2015). A recent crime in Georgia that is currently being treated as a racially-motivated hate crime was the killing of a 25-year-old Black man, Ahmaud Arbery, on February 23, 2020 (Bynum, 2020). Arbery is reported to have been jogging when he was chased down and shot by two White men (Bynum, 2020). The two White men claimed that they thought that Arbery was a burglar, but mobile phone footage of the incident strongly suggests that the case is likely to be a racially-motivated hate crime (Bynum, 2020). Following Arbery's killing, the State of Georgia passed a hate crime bill to deter hate crimes (Barajas, Dianne, & Henry, 2020). The passage of the bill demonstrates that the state acknowledges the problem of hate crime and is committed to addressing the same.

Groups such as the Nazis and Alt-right are openly anti-immigration and pro-racism. Groups such as the Alt-right argue that the United States belongs to White people and that racial minorities such as Blacks and Latinas/os are not welcomed. Extremist far-right organizations commit ideologically-driven violence, which is a cause of concern for the safety of racial minorities and immigrants in different parts of the country. There is a need to enhance antiracism and related policies to ensure that extremist far-right groups do not harm racial minorities and other targets in the countries in which they are active. This enhancement would improve minorities' and immigrants' quality of life.

The threat of white-supremacy-related attacks has been recently rising in the United States. The rising threat level has caught the attention of lawmakers and security agencies in the country. In September 2019, the Homeland Security Department

(hereafter, Homeland) released a strategy document to guide response to, among other things, white-supremacy-related threats (Kanno-Youngs, 2019). Prior to the release of the document, Homeland did not focus particularly on the White supremacy threat (Kanno-Youngs, 2019). In February 2020, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director declared that the threat of far-right domestic violence was a national threat priority (Woodward, 2020). The FBI has also raised the neo-Nazi threat level to the same as ISIS (Woodward, 2020). The targeting of Latino/a shoppers in a shooting in El Paso, Texas also prompted the U.S. Congress to debate new laws to help combat White supremacy and domestic terrorism (MacFarquhar, 2020). Following numerous White-supremacist-related threats, New Jersey recently declared White supremacists a major threat to security in the state (Orso, 2020). The recent response by lawmakers and security agencies provides evidence for the claim that White supremacist groups, many of which are extremist far-right groups, are a significant threat to minorities, immigrants, and the security of the country.

Extensive research has been conducted to understand far-right groups, their ideologies, the causes of their rise, and the crimes committed by violent far-right hate groups (Chermak et al., 2013). Numerous studies also confirm that far-right hate groups are against racial minorities and immigrants from some nationalities, races, and ethnicities (Adamczyk, et al., 2014; Atkinson, 2018; Bracco et al., 2018; Chermak et al., 2013). Crimes committed by far-right hate groups against minorities and immigrants have been well-documented (Chermak, Freilich, & Simone Jr, 2010; Freilich et al., 2014). However, there is little research on the effects that activities of far-right hate groups, such

as racial discrimination, insult, and assault, have on the lives of minorities and immigrants. Discrimination, insult, and assault have the potential to significantly damage a person's quality of life and cause mental illnesses. Such effects would cause unnecessary suffering within a population. In this study, I sought to fill the gap in knowledge through investigating the effects that far-right hate groups' racial discrimination, insult, and assault have had on the lives of the Latina/o population.

Statement of the Problem

Far-right groups such as Fascists, Nazis, Alt-right, neo-Nazis, and neo-Fascists have promoted racism and radical anti-immigration policies (Chermak et al., 2013). Many radical far-right groups and members of such organizations have insulted, assaulted, and racially discriminated against racial minorities and/or immigrants and/or distributed racist propaganda (Parkin et al., 2015). The problem that I investigated is the impact of far-right groups' and their followers' presence, racism- and violence-related propaganda, insults, assaults, and/or racial discrimination on the lives of Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. Parkin et al. (2015) analyzed 141 cases of homicide perpetrated by far-right groups and individuals between 1990 and 2007 and reported that 8% of the victims targeted for anti-racial minority reasons were of Hispanic descent. The results of Parkin et al.'s analysis proves that Latinas/os are one of the racial minorities in the United States victimized by extreme far-right groups because of their race. According to the FBI (2018), in 2018, 35 hate crime incidents were reported in Georgia. Of the 35 reported incidents, 28 were related to the victims' race/ethnicity/ancestry (FBI, 2018). The Gwinnett County Police Department registered hate crimes related to

race/ethnicity/ancestry in 2018 (FBI, 2018). In this study, I investigated such crimes and their impact on Latinas/os.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the negative impacts of the activities of far-right groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia, on the lives of the Latina/o population living in the County. It was crucial to investigate whether radical right-wing groups who support white supremacist views, nativism, and extreme nationalism are present, spreading violence- and racism-related propaganda, insulting, assaulting, and/or racially discriminating against people of Latina/o descent living in the county so that future measures can be taken to prevent or mitigate such activities. For example, this study may provide valuable insight into how best to develop policies to reduce or eliminate violence- and racism-related propaganda, fear resulting from the presence of hateful far-right groups and/or individuals, and potential violence that can be instigated or perpetrated by radical and violent far-right groups. In this research, I evaluated the effectiveness of the existing state and local government policies regarding the protection of racial minorities and deal with radical and extreme far-right groups. The knowledge gleaned from this study may inform the approaches that law enforcement agencies should consider to protect Latinas/os from being victimized by radical right-wing groups.

Research Questions

I used the following research question to guide the research: To what extent are Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia, impacted by the presence of hateful far-

right groups, racism- and violence-related propaganda, perceived insult, assault, and/or racial discrimination by extremist far-right groups?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that I selected to underpin this study was Latina/o critical race theory (LatCrit), which grew from critical race theory (CRT; Pérez Huber, 2010). One proposition of CRT is that racial power and white supremacy are maintained as time passes and that the law can help in the process of this maintenance (Harris et al., 2012). The second proposition is that it is possible to change the link between the law and racial power and, in the process, achieve racial emancipation (Harris et al., 2012). LatCrit theory builds from CRT's propositions. The central focus of LatCrit is to support the advocacy for social justice for disadvantaged people of color, especially Latinas/os. The LatCrit theoretical framework has been used to study how Latinas/os experience race, gender, sexuality, and class while also taking into consideration their experiences regarding immigration, culture, language, and ethnicity (Pérez Huber, 2010). Researchers use this theory to effectively represent Latinas/os' experiences (Pérez Huber, 2010).

LatCrit was in line with this study because the theoretical framework was mainly developed to help better articulate the issues that face the many Latina/o-related groups in the United States, especially racism. The theory was also developed to articulate the interests of Latinas/os. The framework has been used as a theoretical foundation for several studies. One such study was conducted by Huber et al. (2008) to better understand the modern experiences of people of color—and Latinas/os in particular—regarding racial nativism. Another study was conducted by Scheuths (2014) to research the

experiences that Latina/o couples in interracial relationships had regarding racial nativism.

I used this theoretical framework to analyze data on the experiences of Latinas/os in Gwinnett County, Georgia, regarding the presence of, and propaganda, insult, assault, and racial discrimination by, hateful far-right groups. I also used the study to examine the role that race, immigration, and ethnicity play in the victimization of Latinas/os by hateful far-right groups. Lastly, I used the theory to keenly examine the unique ways in which hateful far-right groups oppress Latinas/os and, therefore, clearly communicate their experiences. I used the data that I collected from the study to test the claims of LatCrit theory.

Nature of the Study

I used the qualitative research method to conduct this study. The data needed to answer the research question was experiential, and the qualitative research approach was best suited to access it (Kahlke, 2014). I selected a basic qualitative or generic qualitative research design for this study. This design is best suited for studies aimed at the exploration and description of phenomenon, and such is the focus of the proposed study (Kahlke, 2014). The study population was Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The inclusion criteria were being a Latina/o, living in Gwinnett County, Georgia, being aged 18 and above, and having encountered hateful far-right groups or members of the same and/or their propaganda. The selected sampling method for the study was purposive. I purposively sampled Latinas/os who had encountered far-right groups or members and/or the propaganda of the same for the study. I interviewed a sample of 20

participants aged 18 and above, consisting of all genders. The instrument that I used to collect participants' experiences was interviewing, and I used the document review method of data collection to gain more data on the research phenomenon. Targeted documents included crime data and hate crime incident reports in Gwinnett County. The data analysis method that I used to analyze the collected qualitative data was thematic analysis. I coded the interview data and evaluated and reported common themes and patterns. I carried out the analysis of the qualitative data using NVivo software, which is helpful in managing large amounts of qualitative data as it can be used to first code the data and then analyze them (Hilal & Alabri, 2013).

Definition of Terms

The key terms used throughout the study are:

Authoritarianism: The term authoritarianism means support for strict obedience to the authority at the expense of individual freedom (Rydgren, 2018).

Critical race theory (CRT): CRT is a theoretical framework developed to aid critical researchers evaluate traces of racism and race in different modes of expression within a culture (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Extreme right-wing: The term extreme-right is used in the study as a synonym for far-right (Rydgren, 2018).

Far-right: The term far-right is used to refer to politics that are on the extreme right of the left-right political spectrum and are characterized by the embrace of ultranationalism, nativism, and authoritarianism (Rydgren, 2018).

Latinas/os: the term Latinas/os is used in this study to refer to people who are of Latin American origin or descent (Odem & Lacy, 2009).

Nativism: The term nativism refers to the promotion of the interests of native-born people and/or those considered to be native to a race or ethnicity at the expense of non-natives (Young, 2017).

Latina/o critical race theory (LatCrit): LatCrit is a theoretical framework derived from CRT that aids critical researchers investigate and articulate the interests and issues of race and racism faced by minorities in the United States, especially Latina/o-related groups (Pérez Huber, 2010).

Racism: The term racism in this study refers to discrimination, hostility, or prejudice towards an individual or group on the basis that the individual or group is from a different race (Schueths, 2014).

Ultrnationalism: The word ultrnationalism is used in the study to refer to an extreme form of nationalism (Piccolino, 2014).

Assumptions

I assumed that the selected participants would answer the posed interview questions in an honest and truthful manner. One of my goals was to access data regarding how participants felt after encountering far-right groups or their propaganda and how the feelings that arose from the encounter have affected their quality of life. Such feelings

and judgments regarding the same are internal to an individual and subjective; thus, there was no way that I could verify whether the data given regarding the same were provided honestly and were true. I also assumed that selected participants had no ulterior motives in participating in the study. Participants with ulterior motives can distort their responses to skew the results of the study in one direction or another. During the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests, it was reported that some far-right separatist groups were fomenting violence and property destruction (Kelly & Samuels, 2020). Such high-profile events could influence participants' responses. To mitigate such influence from outside the County on the proposed study, I endeavored to ensure that participants provided experiences they had had within Gwinnett County, Georgia.

Scope and Delimitation

One specific aspect of the research problem that I addressed in the study was the encounters that Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia have had with radical far-right groups. The encounters that were of interest to the study were those that involved the presence of such groups, and racism- and violence-related propaganda, insult, assault, and racial discrimination by extremist right-wing groups. I used these encounters to inform the second most important aspect of the study, which was the exploration of the effects that such encounters have had on the lives of Latinas/os. I was largely interested in investigating the effects of the presence of and racism- and violence related propaganda, insult, assault, and racial discrimination by extremist right-wing groups on Latinas/os' quality of life.

The reason I largely focused on the quality of life of Latinas/os, specifically, in relation to encounters with hateful far-right groups and the propaganda disseminated by them is that many studies have been conducted to understand the nature, ideologies, and activities of far-right groups. However, there are few studies on the effects of such groups on the lives and quality of life of the groups they antagonize. The population included in the study was limited to Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. Those outside this specific area were excluded.

Limitations

There were several limitations to this study. One limitation involved recruiting an adequate sample of interviewees for the study. As I anticipated that there might be few participants with relevant experience, I used the document review data collection method to track incidents of victimization of the target groups and hateful far-right propaganda and use the same to recruit relevant participants. Another limitation regards the methodology that I selected for the study. I used the basic qualitative approach and collected data through interviewing. I expected participants who had encountered hateful far-right groups and or their propaganda to recall experiences that they had regarding the research phenomenon, how they felt about the experiences, and how the same affected or have continued to affect their lives. Challenges in accurately recalling the needed data by some participants could have resulted in inaccurate data, which would have distorted the study's findings. I could only request participants to recall their experiences as accurately as possible, if they had had such experiences.

The transferability of the results of the study was limited. One reason for the limit in the transferability of the study was the lack of adequate resources to access a larger sample population and collect more data. The small sample size limits the transferability of the study's findings to the entire Latino/a and minority population in the United States who have encountered hateful far-right groups.

Another limitation to the study regards my biases. Biases could have led me to skew the findings and, thus, undermine the dependability of the findings. To overcome this limitation, I created an audit trail and recruited a neutral expert to analyze the same to determine whether the findings were indeed colored by biases. I also used the reflexivity technique to deal with any biases. I used reflexivity to evaluate my own background and biases to determine how such would influence the research process.

Significance

Essential questions regarding the effects that the activities of radical and violent far-right groups have on minorities' and immigrants' quality of life remain unanswered (Parkin et al., 2017). This study provides knowledge regarding these effects. The new knowledge is likely to stimulate further research on the phenomenon. The study also includes knowledge regarding the effectiveness of the legislative and law enforcement mechanisms put in place to protect minorities and immigrants from being harmed by violent groups. The understanding of the effectiveness of legislative and law enforcement mechanisms will inform the actions that need to be taken to better secure immigrants from extreme far-right groups. The findings of the study have the potential to stimulate the making of new state and local government policies to address emerging issues or the

enhancement of existing policies to improve their efficiency and effectiveness. The positive improvements will manifest in fewer assaults on racial minorities by extreme far-right groups and improved quality of life for racial minorities and immigrants through the minimization of the likelihood of racial discrimination and verbal abuse.

Summary and Transition

Many far-right groups are deeply opposed to minorities and immigration. These groups are on the extreme right of the left-right political spectrum, and many support nativism, extreme nationalism, and authoritarianism. Very little serious research has been conducted on the effects that activities of far-right hate groups, such as racial discrimination, insult, and assault, have on the lives of minorities and immigrants. The problem that I investigated was the impacts of the presence of hateful far-right groups, as well as their racism- and violence-related propaganda, insults, assaults, and racial discrimination, on the lives of Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The purpose of the qualitative study was to explore the negative impacts of far-right groups and their hateful propaganda on the lives of the target population. The theoretical framework that I selected to underpin this study was LatCrit. I used the qualitative research method to conduct the research. The study's findings will help determine whether minorities are well-protected from being harmed by extreme-right and other racist and/or anti-minority groups. The findings have the potential to stimulate the making of new state and local government policies to address emerging issues or the enhancement of existing policies to improve their efficiency and effectiveness.

The next chapter is the literature review, which includes an introduction to the topic, discussion of the literature search strategy, and an in-depth discussion of the study's theoretical foundation. Other topics discussed in the literature review are the history of nativism in the United States, far-right groups, far-right groups and nativism, the victimization of minorities, the targeting of Latinas/os, and measures put in place to counteract far-right groups. The chapter closes with the identification of gaps in literature and a summary section.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

As discussed in the first chapter, far-right groups have been observed to be rising in the United States (Adamczyk et al., 2014). The several different groups that are categorized under the far-right label, such as the Nazis, neo-Nazis, Fascists, neo-Fascists, and Alt-right, differ in some respects but are linked by the major ideologies prevailing among the listed and several other extreme-right organizations (Asal et al., 2016). The main ideologies common to far-right organizations are nativism, proauthoritarianism, and ultranationalism (Adamczyk et al., 2014). Nativist ideologies support the interests of native inhabitants at the expense of immigrants (Young, 2017). Proauthoritarian extreme-right groups favor the limiting of individual freedom and more power for the state (Adamczyk et al., 2014). The Alt-right is an example of an ultranationalistic extreme-right organization that promotes the interest of the United States and white Americans well above that of all other nations and people (Atkinson, 2018). The extreme nature of the far-right's main ideologies concerns many in mainstream left-wing and right-wing politics and minorities and immigrants.

Literature Search Strategy

I used Walden University Library's Public Policy and Administration database to access articles related to public policy and administration and is relevant to the topic of study. Three databases external to Walden University and one search engine were also used to get rich research articles. The three databases are Research Gate, ProQuest, and EBSCO. The search engine used in the research was Google Scholar. The keywords that I used to find relevant materials include *Latinas/os*, *Far-right*, *extreme right-wing*,

Nativism, Racial Nativism, Insult, Assault, Racial Discrimination, Far-right violence, Immigration, Gwinnett County, crime and hate crime in Georgia, and crime and hate crime data in Gwinnett County.

Theoretical Framework

LatCrit was the theoretical framework to the study. The theoretical framework grew from CRT (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). LatCrit theory borrows a lot of its premises from CRT. CRT was developed to help critical researchers analyze the numerous forms of oppressions that people of color face during the course of their lives (Pérez Huber, 2010). The main difference between CRT and LatCrit is that the latter applies the premises of CRT to analyze the unique experiences of Latinas/os (Harris et al., 2012). The very close connection between the two theories makes an understanding of CRT crucial to the understanding and effective application of LatCrit.

Critical Race Theory

CRT is a theoretical framework and interpretation model that is used by critical researchers to evaluate traces of racism and race in different modes of expression within a culture (Lynn & Dixson, 2013). One dominant mode of expression is where critical researchers apply the theory to determine whether race appears in education (Lynn & Dixson, 2013). Other modes of expression are politics and the legal system (Lynn & Dixson, 2013). The framework also helps researchers to examine the phenomenon of systemic racism and how it impacts people of color. Cultural perceptions of race have been used to propagate prejudice against people of different races, and the theory aids the

evaluation of such prejudices. CRT also investigates how people of color endeavor to represent themselves to defeat such prejudices (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015).

CRT emerged from critical legal studies. It was originated by a group of legal scholars in the mid- to late 1980s (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). The originators operated within different U.S. law schools. Their goal in developing CRT was to place racism and race at the center of legal analysis (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The stalling of the advancement in civil rights largely motivated the creation of CRT (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). The originators of the theoretical framework sought to establish a theory that focused on race and racism to better analyze the political, economic, and social environments with respect to race and racism and, in the process, advance civil rights. Roughly 1 decade after its development, CRT was adopted in education (Lynn & Dixson, 2013). It has been highly potent in the analysis of the lived experiences of people of color living in predominantly white cultures.

CRT has seven crucial tenets (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The tenets are the premises of the theory. The first tenet of the theory is the permanence of racism. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2017), this proposition holds that racism is a permanent and endemic aspect of the lives of people of color in the United States and not isolated and random, as is thought by many people. The tenet posits that people of color in the United States encounter racism and race issues in all areas of their lives, such as politics, society, economics, and education (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The premise regarding the pervasiveness of race and racism is one of the main identifying features of CRT.

The second tenet of the theory is termed the interest of convergence (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The tenet seeks to explain the manner in which a minority in society (people of color, in the case of the United States) are able to make social and political progress. According to the premise, the historically oppressed are able to progress socially and politically if their interests are in line with those of the dominant group in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). If the interests of the oppressed are contrary to those of the dominant group, progress in the issue concerned is difficult, if not impossible, to attain.

The third premise of CRT is called experiential knowledge (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The premise posits that the knowledge gained by people of color through their lived experiences is legitimate and crucial to analyzing and understanding race and the racism issues that they face (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The experiential knowledge of the oppressed is said to be in contest with the traditional methods of scholarship in the area of race and racism. Experiential knowledge can be obtained through interviewing, storytelling, narratives, biographies, and family histories. The premise highlights the importance of people of color's lived experiences in understanding the issues of race and racism that they experience.

The fourth premise is called intersectionality (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). According to Delgado and Stefancic (2017), the tenet holds that the concept of race converges with other identity-related concepts, such as gender, religion, and sexual orientation, to result in different types of oppressions. The different types of oppression that arise from intersectionality include homophobia and sexism (Delgado & Stefancic,

2017). These oppressions adversely affect the lives of people of color, whose different identities intersect resulting in an identity that the dominant group in society oppose.

The fifth tenet of the theoretical framework is Whiteness as a property. This tenet posits that being White is a valuable asset (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). It is posited to be a valuable asset due to the privileges that White people are stated to enjoy in the United States. The term “White privilege” is used to refer to the benefits that white people enjoy because of their skin color.

The sixth tenet of the theory is labeled the critique of liberalism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). This premise challenges liberal concepts such as equal opportunity, objectivity, color blindness, and incremental change, among others (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The critique is aimed at exposing the weaknesses of such concepts in dealing with the issues of race and racism and/or improving the same.

The seventh tenet of the theory is termed commitment to social justice. The premise states that all people ought to be safe in the society in which they live and should have equitable access to resources and equal participation in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

The Latina/o Critical Race Theory

A thorough discussion of CRT is a prerequisite to the discussion of LatCrit theory. The fact that LatCrit theory grew from CRT is one reason to begin with such a discussion. The second reason for the same is that LatCrit theory borrows the tenets of CRT (Pérez Huber, 2010). LatCrit, however, is not the simple application of CRT to the Latina/o population. The theory has its own concepts that are important for critical

investigation. Moreover, LatCrit does not only cover the Latina/o population. The theory is applied by critical researchers to groups such as Latinas/os, Native Americans, Asians, and women of color (Valdes, 2005).

LatCrit theory emerged during the mid-1990s (Valdes, 2005). Like CRT, LatCrit emerged from discussions among the legal community. The legal academy of the United States held a colloquium in Puerto Rico in 1995 that was aimed at addressing the topic of Latina/o communities and CRT (Valdes, 2005). The colloquium helped lay the ground for the development of the theoretical framework. LatCrit theorists have observed that CRT focused considerably on the Black–White race paradigm (Valdes, 2005). LatCrit would help better articulate the interests and issues that face many Latina/o-related groups. According to Valdes (2005), LatCrit theorists had two key goals in the formulation of the theoretical framework. One of the goals was to develop a critical, activist, and interdisciplinary discussion that focused on the policy and legal issues and topics that regard Latinas/os (Valdes, 2005). The second goal was to enable the founding of a coalitional theory to generate knowledge and make it available to parties that can help spur legal and social transformation. In short, the main aims of the theory are to support activism on issues that face Latinas/os and generate a knowledge base to support social change.

LatCrit theory has a major focus on practice, namely the generation of knowledge to spur social transformation (Anguiano & Castañeda, 2014). To attain the goal of social transformation, LatCrit theorists articulated four functions that are the main focus of the theory (Valdes, 2005). One function is the generation of knowledge (Valdes, 2005).

LatCrit theory focuses on the issues and interests of people of color in a predominantly white population. The articulation of the issues and interests of such people requires the generation of knowledge that would help understand the same. Some of the problems that the theory has been used to investigate are the intersectionality between race, racism, and immigration. Another issue is the relationship between racial power and law enforcement. Accurate knowledge aids in promoting adequate social transformation. Valdes (2005) states that the second function of LatCrit theory is the advancement of social transformation (Anguiano & Castañeda, 2014). LatCrit theorists are keen to promote positive social change. The particular positive social change that LatCrit theory aims to promote regards race and racism. LatCrit theorists promote activism on race and racism-related issues facing people of color (Valdes, 2005). The knowledge generated through scholarship supports the second function of the theoretical framework.

The third function of LatCrit theory is the connection and expansion of the anti-subordination struggle (Valdes, 2005). Antisubordination is one of the key principles of the theory (Valdes, 2005). LatCrit theorists seek to oppose the subordination of people of color in the United States by White supremacists. Connection of the anti-subordination struggle is aimed at inducing more stakeholders to struggle together to enhance the chances of succeeding in the promotion of positive social change (Valdes, 2005). The expansion of the study is aimed at attracting more people and institutions to the struggle as this will also help spur the needed social change.

The fourth function of LatCrit theory is the cultivation of coalition and community in and outside legal academia (Valdes, 2005). Coalition and community are

critical to activism. They help lobby for the needed social transformation. The four functions are not aimed at limiting the focus of LatCrit theory. They are meant to be guideposts for the theoretical framework (Valdes, 2005).

Nativism Studies Founded on LatCrit Theory

Several studies regarding nativism have been conducted under the LatCrit theoretical framework. One such study was conducted by Huber et al. (2008) to better understand the modern experiences of people of color, and Latinas/os in particular, regarding racial nativism. The researchers sought to theorize racial nativism. Huber et al. (2008) sought to go past racism, which they described as merely a symptom of what is wrong with U.S. society, and focus on the deeper problem, which they identified as White supremacy. In justifying the utilization of LatCrit theory in the study, Huber et al. (2008) appealed to the theory's focus on activism. In particular, the researchers cited the theory's call to challenge the dominant ideologies in society to expose the racial beliefs and practices underpinning the same and that continue the oppression of people of color in the United States. LatCrit theory was a solid foundation for their particular research. The theory helped the authors interpret the results of the research.

A similar study, also founded on LatCrit theory, focused on the racial nativism faced by interracial mixed-status couples in the United States. The study, which was conducted by April M. Scheuths and published in 2014, focused on Latinas/os who were in mixed marriages. The researcher sought to understand the experiences that couples in interracial relationships had regarding racial nativism. Scheuths (2014) observed that the participants experienced racial nativists' macroaggressions and microaggressions

differently. The differences in the experience of racial nativism depended greatly on the participants' race and gender. The findings emphasized the importance of intersectionality, which is a major focus of CRT and LatCrit. The researcher used both CRT and LatCrit as their theoretical framework. LatCrit, in particular, was a good framework for the study, as the Latinas/os and the issues of race, racism, and intersectionality that affect them were among its key focuses. Together with CRT, LatCrit helped in interpreting the results of the study.

Application to the Study

The extensive discussion of CRT has helped elucidate some of the premises that were borrowed by LatCrit. The extensive discussion of LatCrit has helped explain its origin, tenets, goals, and functions. The tenets, goals, and functions of the theory fit well with this study. The theory helped contextualize and interpret the results of the proposed study. The study, on the other hand, has helped further test the tenets of LatCrit through the provision of experiential evidence gathered from the Latina/o population.

History of Nativism in the United States

Nativism, one of the main ideologies of far-right organizations, has been difficult for historians to define (Higham, 2002). Higham (2002) observed that the word arose in Eastern American cities in around the 1940s. Historians have struggled to define nativism because of the difficulty in distinguishing whether the term should be exclusively used to describe the attitude of anti-foreign crusaders or can encompass the moderate concern about foreigners among Americans in the mid-19th century (Higham, 2002). Antiforeign parties begun to emerge after 1835, and the label "nativist" was ascribed to such parties

by their opponents (Higham, 2002). Higham (2002) argued that although the term was coined around the 1840s, the spirit of nativism in the country preceded that date.

Young (2017) observed that antiforeign nativism was worse between 1870 and 1930. Between 1890 and 1925, 20 million immigrants moved to the United States and faced hostile treatment, conflict, and xenophobia (Daniels, 1997). Daniels (1997) claimed that the passing of the National Origins Act of 1924 was a triumph for nativists, as it severely limited immigration into the United States. The Act excluded Asians from immigrating to the United States and limited the total number of immigrants who could be admitted from outside the Western hemisphere to 165,000 individuals (Daniels, 1997). After 1930, nativism began to disappear. Historical investigations show that nativism declined rather than completely disappearing (Young, 2018).

Nativism and Immigration

Immigration was the major cause of the emergence of nativism in the United States in the early 19th century and its growth in the later 19th century (Higham, 2002). The main cause for the growth of nativist sentiment today is the same as it was in the past, namely immigration. During the late 19th century, the number of immigrants into the United States from Europe grew significantly (Higham, 2002). According to the historian Jose Moya, there were five major driving forces for immigration from Europe into the United States after the 1840s (Moya, 1998). The five forces were the rise in Europe's population, political liberalism which allowed free movement, the release of peasants from their ties to the land due to commercial agriculture, demand for labor in the United States, and advancement in means of transportation (Moya, 1998). Most of the

immigrants from Europe hailed from Eastern and Southern Europe (Young, 2017). A sharp increase in immigration was registered in the 1870s (Young, 2017). Immigrants from Asia also entered the United States during the period (Young, 2017). Mexican immigrants into the United States also began to increase after 1900 (Moya, 1998). Before the 1880s, the United States lacked laws to curb immigration (Young, 2017). The high rates of immigration that occurred during the period infuriated nativist movements. Although groups existed and opposed immigration prior to the peak of nativism in the late 1800s, the rise of immigration led to a rise in their activities (Young, 2017). One nativist group that existed at the time was known as the Know-Nothing party (Young, 2017). According to Young (2017), this party advocated against immigration but was unsuccessful in garnering support against immigration on nativist grounds. Nativist sentiments in the United States rose significantly during the 1880s and 1890s (Young, 2017). It is no coincidence that such sentiments began to rise with the significant rise in immigration into the country. The rising sentiments affected even policymakers. Policymakers began to oppose free immigration into the country. The rise in antiimmigration sentiments culminated in the immigration restriction laws that were passed in 1924 (Moya, 1998).

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A review of the history of immigration into the United States shows that it was a major reason for the rise of nativist groups and sentiments in the country. However,

immigration was not the only factor contributing to the significant growth in nativist sentiments. An intersection of immigration with race, ethnicity, and culture led to a more severe opposition to some groups immigrating into the United States (Moya, 1998). Immigrants from some Western European countries compared to those from Asia, and Mexico (Young, 2017). The race, ethnicity, and culture of Asians and Mexicans played a role in the opposition to their immigration into the United States by nativist groups. Another factor that, together with immigration, led to the rise in nativist sentiments was employment. There were fears that the immigrants would take many jobs and cause unemployment problems for natives (Kaushal, 2019).

Asian Immigration and Nativism

Racial nativism in the United States has been clearly evidenced by the opposition to Chinese immigrants and attacks on them by racial nativists. According to Young (2017), immigration from Asia, particularly China, began between 1850 and 1860. The Chinese moved to the United States in their thousands during this particular period. Young (2017) observes that around 50,000 Chinese entered the country by crossing the Pacific Ocean. The immigrants settled in the Western states and sought jobs in the railroads and mining industries. The immigration and taking of jobs that could have been taken by natives motivated the severe opposition that the Chinese immigrants faced in the 1870s (Hooper & Batalova, 2015).

The nativist opposition to the Asian immigrants, specifically the Chinese, was largely justified by the claim that the immigrants could not be assimilated into U.S. culture (Hooper & Batalova, 2015). Nativists argued that their customs and behaviors

were a threat to U.S. society. The appearance of the immigrants, for example their hairstyle and clothing, fueled the claim that they could not be assimilated and would subvert U.S. culture (Young, 2017). Dire economic conditions in the 1870s made matters worse for the Chinese immigrants (Hooper & Batalova, 2015). Their willingness to work for lower wages than their white counterparts led them to outcompete natives in the job market.

In 1871, 21 Chinese immigrants were massacred by rioters in San Francisco (Young, 2017). Another act of violence against the Chinese occurred in 1877, when 25 laundries owned by the Chinese were set on fire (Young, 2017). The cited acts of violence show that nativist violence in the United States dates back a long way. In California, lawmakers passed laws aimed at oppressing the Chinese immigrants in the state. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 banned the immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States until the renewal of this exclusion ceased in 1943 (Hooper & Batalova, 2015). Protecting U.S. laborers by blocking illegal Chinese immigration is acceptable. However, doing so on racial grounds was immoral.

Latinas/os Immigration and Nativism

Latinas/os were immigrating into the United States even in the early 19th century (Young, 2017). According to Young (2017), anti-Latina/o prejudice also existed at that time in the country. A historical event that led to the significant rise in the Hispanic or Latina/o population of Mexican descent in the United States was the latter country winning the Mexican-American War in 1848 (Griswold del Castillo, 1998). The war culminated in the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which led to the ceding of

over half of Mexico's territory to the United States (Griswold del Castillo, 1998). The new land brought new citizens in to the United States. Some of the Mexicans who found themselves in the United States moved to Mexico, and those who remained became U.S. citizens (Griswold del Castillo, 1998).

The political and economic conditions in Mexico later in the 19th century forced more citizens to move to the United States to seek a better livelihood (Young, 2017). Some U.S. employers at the time welcomed the Latina/o immigrants from Mexico as they accepted low wages for their services (Odem & Lacy, 2009). The growth in immigration and the threat that the Latina/o immigrants posed in the job market fueled anti-Latina/o sentiment. Latinas/os were discriminated against in several ways. They were segregated into poor areas (Young, 2017). There were negative stereotypes about the Mexicans at the time. Some referred to the Mexicans as lazy (Young, 2017).

Some Latina/o immigrants in the country experienced very harsh treatment in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th century. The harsh treatment included beating, lynching, murder, and insults (Young, 2017). For example, a woman named Josefa Segovia was lynched in 1851 after being accused of killing a white man (Young, 2017). The lynching was perpetrated after a sham trial where no real evidence was tabled. It is reported that over 2,000 men witnessed the lynching and hurled racial insults at the accused (Young, 2017). Fraternizing with white women or suspicion of doing so would lead to attack on Latinas/os (Young, 2017). The ill-treatment of Latinas/os at that time and racial discrimination against them was not merely because of anti-immigration, but also because of racial nativism.

In the 1920s, the Mexican government intervened to help stop the racial discrimination and victimization of Mexicans and Latinas/os by pressuring the U.S. government to fight the same effectively (Young, 2017). The mob violence against Latinas/os stopped, but racial discrimination and hatred of Latinas/os continued (Betten & Mohl, 1973). The Great Depression of the 1920s also increased the hatred for Latinas/os, especially Mexicans (Betten & Mohl, 1973). The financial troubles caused by the depression caused some Americans to accuse Latinas/os and other foreigners of taking their jobs. During the Depression, it is estimated that the United States deported over a million Mexicans from the country in what was termed repatriation (Betten & Mohl, 1973). The deportation of illegal immigrants was justifiable and right. However, some Mexicans who were U.S. citizens were deported in the process (Betten & Mohl, 1973).

The victimization of Latinas/os in the early 20th century also extended to children. A majority of Latina/o children attended separate schools in the 1940s (Young, 2017). The case of Sylvia Mendez, who was denied admission into all-white schools, is an example of segregation in the area of education (Young, 2017). Her family and those of other children fought the restrictions by filing a court case in California. The court case resulted in a huge triumph, as the court ruled that the discrimination was unconstitutional (Young, 2017). Conditions for the Latina/o population in the United States have continued to improve remarkably since then, although racial nativism sentiments tend to rise over time.

Present Situation Regarding Latinas/os in the United States and Nativism

Currently, the United States is dealing with the problem of illegal immigration. Large number of immigrants have been entering the country illegally. Many of the immigrants are from Mexico and other Central and Southern American countries (Pierce & Selee, 2017). The problem of illegal immigration was among the major issues in the 2016 U.S. presidential election (Pierce & Selee, 2017). President Donald Trump, who was a candidate, garnered a great deal of support because of his serious focus on the problem of illegal immigration (Pierce & Selee, 2017). The president promised the voters he would build a border wall with Mexico to prevent illegal immigrants from using the border to get into the United States (Pierce & Selee, 2017). The construction of the wall has been plagued by funding problems. The United States has to take the necessary measures to stop illegal immigration, as uncontrolled illegal immigration has some adverse effects of a country. The measures, however, have to be constitutional and humane.

The issue of illegal immigration, which is a legitimate one, has led to the re-emergence of nativist groups, such as many of the far-right groups (Bracco et al., 2018). Far-right groups have been using the illegal immigration issue to garner support for their racial nativist views (Bracco et al., 2018). Latinas/os, especially Mexicans, have been key targets of racial nativists, as the Mexican border is being used by waves of illegal immigrants to get into the United States (Bracco et al., 2018).

Factors that Influence the Emergence of Nativism

The review of literature has helped reveal several factors that have influenced the emergence and re-emergence of nativism over the years. These causes include immigration, racism, economic concerns, cultural concerns, and politics.

Immigration

The main cause of nativism is immigration (Goldstein & Peters, 2014). The immigration of the 1870s to 1930 fueled the rise of nativism in the United States (Young, 2017). The current immigration problem has also led to the re-emergence of nativist sentiments. Since nativists seek to promote the interests of natives at the expense of immigrants, they perceive that an inflow of immigrants into their countries will make it hard to promote the interests of natives (Schrag, 2011). Another example that provides evidence for the claim that immigration is the major cause of the emergence of nativism around the world is the significant rise in the flow of immigrants into Europe in recent years. Conflicts in Iraq, Syria, and Libya have led many to flee Europe in search of peace and better rivalry (Czymara & Schmidt-Catran, 2017). The serious inflow of immigrants into Europe has caused legitimate concerns as many immigrants attempt to enter the continent illegally. The inflow has also led to the rise of nativist groups and sentiments in nations such as Germany, Britain, Italy, and France, among others (Czymara & Schmidt-Catran, 2017).

For some nativists, the immigration of any group of people into their country is a threat to the native-born people. To others, racial nativists, the immigration of people

from different races, cultures, and ethnicities is the problem. Hence, they oppose the immigration of people from other races, such as Blacks, Asians, and Latinas/os.

Racism

The second cause of the emergence of nativism is racism. Although immigration is the main cause of nativism in different cultures around the world, racism also plays an important role in the rise of nativism (Young, 2017). In the case of the Alt-right, for example, the group mainly opposes the immigration of other races, ethnicities, and cultures, except whites from Western European nations (Pollard, 2018). The opposition towards the Chinese who began to enter the United States between 1850 and 1860 was partly on racial and cultural grounds (Hooper & Batalova, 2015). Nativists opposed to the Chinese cited their hairstyles, dressing, and culture to justify their racial prejudice against them (Young, 2017). Evidence from numerous studies confirms that racism plays a key role in the emergence of nativism.

Economic Concerns

Economic concerns have also contributed substantially to the emergence of nativism in the United States and other countries (Goldstein & Peters, 2014). One of several grievances pertaining to the immigration of Asians, particularly Chinese, to the United States was that they took up jobs that could have been occupied by natives (Young, 2017). The Chinese would work for low wages, which motivated railroad and mining companies to hire them instead of natives. Even in the present-day United States, those who oppose Mexican immigration argue that the immigrants have been negatively affecting the labor market by working for lower wages (Goldstein & Peters, 2014).

The economic concerns do not simply rest on labor market concerns. Those ethically opposed to immigration as well as nativists also claim that an unregulated inflow of immigrants would put pressure on social goods and services such as education and the healthcare system (Goldstein & Peters, 2014). A significant increase in the population due to immigration will, for example, lead to a rise in the need for healthcare, and if the healthcare sector does not expand, service delivery will be undermined. There are also concerns regarding taxation (Martinsen & Pons Rotger, 2017). The rise in the demand for social goods and services leads to the levying of higher taxes so the government can easily provide the goods and services or subsidize the same (Martinsen & Pons Rotger, 2017). The economic concerns are understandable, yet they do not justify nativism, racism, or the nefarious activities of racist far-right groups.

Cultural Concerns

Cultural concerns have also been raised in regard to immigration and have helped fuel the emergence of nativism. Nativists in the United States in the 1880s and in the present often cite the assimilation argument in opposition to the immigration of racially, culturally, or ethnically diverse people (Young, 2017). According to Young (2017), those who opposed immigration at the time argued that people from different cultures are unlikely to assimilate into U.S. culture. The Chinese who settled in the United States in the 1850s were hated by some natives because they retained their hairstyles, clothing, and traditions (Young, 2017). They did not assimilate. Many nativist and far-right groups in the West oppose multiculturalism (Wollenberg, 2014). Those who hate multiculturalism

argue that immigrants who cannot assimilate can subvert the West's culture and values (Wollenberg, 2014).

Politics

Politics also play a key role in the emergence and re-emergence of nativism in the United States and other nations. One way that politics plays a role in the rise of nativist sentiments is through politicians' agendas and statements (Van Ramshorst, 2018). In the 2016 presidential election, for example, President Trump made the topic of illegal immigration part of his campaign agenda (Van Ramshorst, 2018). Far-right groups that subscribe to nativism, such as the Alt-right, which seek political influence attempted to hijack the agenda and spread their message to influence U.S. voters politically (Van Ramshorst, 2018). The Alt-right supported President Trump's election because of his stance on immigration (Hawley, 2017).

Far-right Groups

Rydgren (2018) observed that one of the most significant political changes witnessed by democratic nations in different parts of the world in recent decades has been the re-emergence of extreme right-wing movements and political parties. Extreme-right organizations have re-emerged in the United States, Europe, Japan, and Israel, among other nations (Rydgren, 2018). Historical parties that have been grouped by scholars as radical right or far right include Fascists and Nazis (Rydgren, 2018). Fascist and Nazi movements and parties were very active in the first half of the 20th century. The parties controlled entire states. Fascism arose in Italy during the First World War (Rydgren, 2018). The Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, who ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943 as Prime

Minister, headed the National Fascist party (Diggins, 2015). Italian Fascism was associated with ultranationalism and authoritarianism (Diggins, 2015). The Nazi Party ruled Nazi Germany.

Both the Fascism and Nazism of the early 20th century have significantly influenced today's far-right movements and parties (Rydgren, 2018). Two types of far-right movements in existence today call themselves neo-Nazis and neo-Fascists. The new movements borrow some of the ideas and ideals of their predecessors (Rydgren, 2018). Other organizations currently grouped under the far-right banner include the Alt-right, white nationalism, and Third Position (Rydgren, 2018).

The term far-right politics is used to refer to politics that are on the extreme right of the left-right political spectrum (Camus & Lebourg, 2017). Far-right politics differ from standard right-wing politics (Camus & Lebourg, 2017; Golder, 2016). The right, or right-wing politics, are characterized by several ideas. The ideas include authority, respect for tradition, and emphasis on order, duty, and hierarchy, among others (Golder, 2016). Right-wing politics are presented as opposition to the left or left-wing politics. Like the right, the left is characterized by several ideas. The ideas include progress, freedom, equality, and reform, among others. Far-right politics, too, are characterized by certain ideas that distinguish them from the regular right. The ideas characterizing far-right politics include ultranationalism, nativism, and authoritarianism (Camus & Lebourg, 2017). The extreme ideologies held by radical right groups are causing a great deal of concern in modern democracies (Rydgren, 2018). Authoritarianism, for instance, goes

against the spirit of democracy, which emphasizes freedom and extending political authority to the population.

Nationalism describes an individual's or group's devotion and loyalty to their nation. The term ultranationalism means extreme devotion and loyalty to one's nation (Piccolino, 2014). The problem with ultranationalism is that it places the interests of one nation above those of all other nations (Piccolino, 2014). Extreme nationalism or ultranationalism is not conducive to cooperation between nations or globalization. Ultranationalism was one characteristic of Italian Fascism (Diggins, 2015). This extreme form of nationalism is breeding fear in democracies as it is potentially destructive to democracy (Piccolino, 2014).

Nativism is another ideology held by far-right groups in the United States, Europe, and other areas of the world. Many far-right groups seek to promote the interests of native-born people or those that they consider to be native to their culture even at the expense of outsiders. Far-right groups are also anti-immigration. Rydgren (2018) describes nativism as ethnic nationalism. Rydgren (2018) also argues that ethnic nationalism is the main concept of far-right groups. The concept of ethnic nationalism or ethnonationalism refers to the definition of a nation in terms of ethnicity. White supremacists in the United States, for example, define the country as a white nation. The Alt-right is in favor of tight restrictions on non-white immigration into the United States. The fact that the movement favors white immigration into the United States is evidence that it embraces the ethnic nationalism concept.

Far-right movements and parties often call for radical changes in society (Camus & Lebourg, 2017). The implementation of such recommendations requires a very authoritarian regime. The recommendations require the reversal of significant progress that has been made by democracies such as the United States as well as European and other countries. According to Vasilopoulos et al. (2019), far-right groups such as neo-Nazis, Alt-right, neo-fascists, and their followers are comfortable with authoritarianism. Far-right groups and their followers support the use of authoritarianism to make the changes that they deem necessary to achieve their ideal society (Vasilopoulos et al., 2019). The pro-authoritarianism tendency of far-right groups is one of the elements that make many individuals and groups weary of far-right groups and parties (Vasilopoulos et al., 2019). The use of force, for example through carrying out violent riots and acts of terrorism, is another reason for the fear of far-right groups and parties in the United States and other nations. The Fascist and Nazi regimes of the 20th century used their authority to implement their ideologies, which led to significant repression of their populations and the persecution of many.

How Today's Far-right Groups are Recruiting Followers

Recruitment of many followers is critical to far-right movements and parties as it helps increase their voice, which in turn helps influence policy and legislation (Muis & Immerzeel, 2017). Today, the internet provides far-right groups with a highly potent channel for recruiting new followers and also spreading their message (Voogt, 2017; Caiani & Parenti, 2016). One reason that the internet is a highly potent means of recruitment for far-right groups is its reach. The internet is a global public network

accessed by people all over the world. Billions of people can access the internet. The internet-based tools that today's far-right groups are using to recruit followers are informational websites, social media, and internet forums (Voogt, 2017).

Informational websites provide far-right groups' followers and other interested parties with information about the groups' agenda, news, opinions, and activities. One example of a website run by a far-right organization in the United States is <https://www.amren.com/> (American Renaissance, 2020). The website belongs to American Renaissance, a white supremacist monthly publication (American Renaissance, 2020). It contains information about the organization's agenda. The website also publishes news related to the publication's agenda. Britain First is another far-right organization that owns a website to spread information about its agenda, activities, and news (Britain First, 2020). The address of Britain First's website is <https://www.britainfirst.org/>. Anyone with an internet connection can access this and many other far-right websites. The anonymity provided by the internet makes it a favorable means of spreading racist information and promoting violence (Voogt, 2017).

Far-right groups and white supremacists are also quite active on social media platforms (Jakubowicz 2017; Voogt, 2017). Gab (a social network that claims to champion free speech, individual liberty, and the free flow of information online) is particularly known for its large far-right following and is considered to be a safe haven for those who support a far-right agenda (Holt et al., 2020). Social media are a potent tool for recruiting members, as sites such as Facebook and Twitter have several billion users around the globe. Far-right groups in the United States and Europe target young white

people using social media and attempt to indoctrinate them with their ideologies so as to finally recruit them (Voogt, 2017). Social media have been a fertile ground for the far-right radicalization of young people (Voogt, 2017).

Internet forums are also critical to the online activities of far-right groups (Holt et al., 2020). An internet forum is a discussion site where members can engage in conversations by writing messages (Holt et al., 2020). Groups use internet forums to hold meetings. Far-right groups take advantage of internet forums to hold meetings and discussions of topics of interest to members (Holt et al., 2020). One internet forum that is popular among white supremacists and those who support far-right ideologies is called the Stormfront (Holt et al., 2020). Internet forums enable users to communicate anonymously, which allows the exchange of deeply divisive ideas (Holt et al., 2020). Internet forums provide an environment for the radicalization of far-right groups' followers. The use of internet forums, social media, and informational websites for far-right recruitment has created serious problems in the combatting of the groups' ideologies as they can easily and cheaply propagate such ideologies to their target groups. Far-right groups today also leverage existing problems related to their agenda and ideology to recruit new followers (Rydgren, 2018). In the United States, the problem of illegal immigration is one issue that far-right groups use to garner support. The problem of illegal immigration is a very serious one and needs to be addressed adequately (Young, 2017). Citizens of Western countries are deeply concerned about illegal immigrants entering their countries in large numbers (Rydgren, 2018). Far-right groups advocate for stricter immigration restrictions to solve the problem (Rydgren, 2018). The groups'

contributions to the problem of illegal immigration help attract the sympathy of U.S. citizens who are deeply concerned about immigration (Rydgren, 2018). In the UK, the British National Party and Britain First are two far-right parties that use issues such as the growth of Islam in the country and Islamic terrorism to spread fear and attract followers (Brindle & MacMillan, 2017).

Effects of Far-right Groups

Far-right movements and parties can be further categorized into extremist far-right groups and moderate far-right groups for the sake of discussing their effects on their respective societies. Rydgren (2018) observed that radical-right groups around the world significantly vary in the views they hold and the tactics they use to promote their views. The ideologies that tie these significantly diverse groups together are their nativist and authoritarian tendencies and extreme nationalism (Muis & Immerzeel, 2017; Parkin et al., 2015). Extreme far-right groups are those that are openly racist, openly embrace Fascism, and use violence, such as assault and acts of terrorism, to intimidate their opponents and communicate their agenda (Chermak et al., 2013). Neo-Nazi groups and members of such groups embrace violence and use it to further their agenda. Neo-Nazi movements are an example of extreme far-right groups. According to Gruenewald et al. (2013), in the United States far-right acts of violence are often perpetrated by lone-wolf followers of far-right ideologies. The murder of Richard Collins III by Christopher Urbanski in 2017 is an example of a lone-wolf crime perpetrated by an extremist far-right supporter (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018).

Moderate far-right movements and parties can be said to be those that are not openly racist and do not use violence to promote their agenda. Such movements and parties seek to use political processes to promote their views and agenda. The popularity of such groups in Europe has been on the rise (Rydgren, 2018). The Freedom Party of Austria (FPO) is an example of a political party that is categorized as a far-right party that is deeply anti-immigration and anti-immigrants (Halla et al., 2017). The FPO can be grouped under the moderate sub-category because of its use of legal means, such as campaigning and the electoral process, to promote their ideology and agenda. The distinction between moderate and radical groups is critical to the discussion of the effects of far-right groups on society.

Effects of Extremist Far-Right Groups and Followers

One effect that extremist far-right groups have had in the United States and other countries around the world is the killing and physical injury of people that such groups are opposed to or people who oppose such groups (Adamczyk et al., 2014; Chermak et al., 2013). One example of the killing and physical injury perpetrated by such groups is the car ramming in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017 that led to the wounding of 19 people and the death of one (Perry, 2018). White nationalists in Virginia were holding a rally that was aimed at uniting the right (Perry, 2018). Peaceful counter-protestors opposed the white nationalists' rally. James Alex Fields Jr, a white nationalist who had attended the rally, drove his car through the counter-protestors, resulting in one death and 19 injuries (Perry, 2018).

The U.S. Extremist Crime Database (ECDB) lists 560 lives claimed by violent activities perpetrated by extremist right-wing groups between 1990 and 2010 (Adamczyk et al., 2014). The examples of killings and wounding resulting from extreme right-wing groups and followers of the same is evidence of the danger that the movements and parties pose to civilized U.S. citizens.

Another effect of extremist right-wing movements and their followers is the fueling of racial tension (Atkinson, 2018). Racism has been a thorny issue in the history of the United States. Significant progress has been made in abolishing racism in the country. Young (2017) observes that Asians, Latinas/os, and other non-white people in the United States were severely discriminated against in the 19th and early 20th century. The races are now largely treated as equals and with respect. The battle is now largely focused on the fight against what is being termed micro-aggressions (Sue et al., 2007). According to Sue et al. (2007), micro-aggressions are the minute daily verbal and behavioral practices that help advance racism and racial stereotypes. Extreme right-wing groups opposed to the significant progress made raise racial tension by making claims about white supremacy and the intellectual inferiority of some races, and some call for the segregation of the races (Atkinson, 2018). Such claims and outright racism by the movements and their followers undermine the positive social change made by the war against racism.

The third effect of extreme right-wing movements and their followers is the promotion of right-wing terrorism. In the United States, several acts of terrorism have been committed by lone-wolf followers of extreme right-wing movements after they are

brainwashed by racism and hatred (Gruenewald et al., 2013). The killing of one person and wounding of 19 by Fields Jr in Charlottesville, Virginia was an act of violence and also an act of terrorism (Perry, 2018). The perpetrator aimed to instill fear in the protestors who had gathered to counter the rally that was conducted by white supremacists who were a threat to their lives. The Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) identifies right-wing terrorism as a serious threat and works to combat the same. Racism, neo-Nazism, neo-Fascism, and the xenophobia promoted by extremist right-wing groups are conducive to the promotion of far-right terrorism (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018).

Effects of Moderate Far-Right Parties

One adverse effect of moderate far-right parties is the promotion of harmful nationalism and ethnonationalism. Parties such as the FPO and Britain First may not openly promote racism and violence but promote a harmful form of nationalism (Halla et al., 2017). Britain First, for example, is deeply anti-Islam and has been antagonizing Muslims (Brindle & MacMillan, 2017). According to Brindle and MacMillan, (2017), members of the party and the BNP hold that Islam is not part of Britain's culture. They oppose multiculturalism and support a strong British nationality (Brindle, & MacMillan, 2017). Such forms of nationalism, promoted by Britain First, BNP, and other such far-right parties, are deeply harmful for culturally diverse nations (Brindle, & MacMillan, 2017). This form of nationalism creates tensions between the different cultures, and the tension can breed violence. Britain First's actions have, for example, increased tension between the followers of the party and Muslims affected by their actions (Brindle & MacMillan, 2017).

The utterances and actions of moderate far-right groups also help in the promotion of nativism. Like extremist far-right movements, moderate far-right movements and parties seek to advance the interests of natives (Rydgren, 2018). The rigorous promotion of natives' interests helps spread nativism. The FPO, for example, argues that immigrants jeopardize the interests of natives by increasing competition in the labor market and putting pressure on public goods such as education (Halla et al., 2017). According to Halla et al. (2017), the party's anti-foreigner stance has contributed to the growth of anti-foreigner sentiments in Austria, and that has helped in the growth of nativist sentiments in the nation. The far-right groups' and movements' keen focus on immigration and recommendation of stricter restrictions pitches immigrants against native-born people, which contributes to the rise of nativist sentiments.

Far-Right Groups and Nativism

Nativists guard the interests of a country's native-born or established natives and oppose immigration and immigrants (Young, 2017). Numerous studies have confirmed the existence of a strong connection between nativism and far-right groups. Halla et al. (2017) investigated the link between rates of immigration and voting for far-right. The researchers studied the case of the FPO, a political party positioned between the right wing and the far right in the political spectrum (Halla et al., 2017). The FPO launched and campaigned for an antiforeigner referendum, which was supported by 7.35 percent of Austria's population (Halla et al., 2017). Halla et al. (2017) observed that the FPO rose from attracting 5 percent of voters in national elections in the early 1980s to 27% of voters in the late 1990s. Concerns regarding the inflow of immigrants led many voters to

prefer the far-right party as it was anti-immigration and campaigned vehemently on that platform (Halla et al., 2017).

Lucassen and Lubbers (2012) studied the reason for the growth in preference for far-right in Europe. Analysis of the European Social Survey dataset collected between 2002 and 2003 provided the researchers with evidence that perceived cultural and ethnic threats led people to prefer and vote for far-right parties more than the economic threats perceived to be posed by immigrants (Lucassen and Lubbers, 2012). Nativist far-right parties attract members and voters when there are immigration concerns. Raising false alarms is one way in which extreme-right organizations attract followers (Lucassen and Lubbers, 2012). Sweeney and Perliger (2018) conducted a study in which one of the findings was that vocal opposition to illegal immigration is one way through which American far-right groups enter the contemporary political discussion. The issue of illegal immigration is a legitimate one and needs to be adequately addressed. However, vocal opposition to interracial marriage, multiculturalism, and Jewish influence on society have led American extreme-right groups away from the mainstream where genuine solutions to illegal immigration are discussed (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018).

Nativist far-right groups do not only oppose the immigration of more minorities into the country; some also oppose racial and ethnic minorities already settled in the country (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018). The Alt-right is in favor of the migration of white people from Western European countries as the party considers this group to be established natives of the United States (Atkinson, 2018). The group, however, opposes the immigration of those they consider not to be established natives (Atkinson, 2018).

The discrimination in the preference for immigrants shown by the Alt-right demonstrates that some far-right groups are opposed to having ethnic and racial minorities live or immigrate into the United States. The Alt-right openly advocates for white nationalism, and its agenda thus extends beyond opposition to immigration and also to multiculturalism (Atkinson, 2018).

Victimization of Minorities and Immigrants

Adamczyk et al. (2014) conducted a study to determine whether there was a connection between hate groups and far-right ideological violence. Analysis of the crime data in the U.S. ECDB between 1990 and 2000 and 2001 and 2012 led the researchers to conclude that there was a statistically significant relationship between the presence of hate groups and far-right ideological violence (Adamczyk et al., 2014). They observed that extreme-right ideologically motivated homicide was more likely to occur in counties with far-right hate groups (Adamczyk et al., 2014). An analysis of the ECDB by Chermak et al. (2013) revealed that, between 1990 and 2010, 560 lives were claimed by 335 homicide events perpetrated by far-right hate groups. The groups targeted racial and ethnic minorities and other groups opposed to their activities (Chermak et al., 2013). The ECDB database has cases of homicides and other crimes committed by lone-wolf far-right members, but there is limited research on the phenomenon (Gruenewald et al., 2013).

As two of the main ideologies of far-right hate groups are nativism and ultra-nationalism, they victimize minorities and immigrants who are their targets. Blacks, Latinas/os, and Jews have been mainly targeted by different far-right hate groups in the

United States (Parkin et al., 2015). Parkin et al. (2015) analyzed 141 cases of homicide in the ECDB between 1990 and 2007 perpetrated by far-right groups that were classified as ideological crimes. Of the victims murdered for anti-racial minority reasons, 25.3% were white, 62.7% were Black, and 12% consisted of people from other races (Parkin et al., 2015). Latinas/os made up 8% of the 12% in the other category (Parkin et al., 2015). The 25.3% of whites victimized for anti-racial minority reasons included white Hispanics and white non-Hispanics who defended minorities from far-right hate groups (Parkin et al., 2015). Other crimes that far-right hate groups have perpetrated against minorities include racial discrimination, assault, insult, and damage to property (Parkin, Gruenewald, & Jandro, 2017).

Far-right hate groups use violence to intimidate racial minorities and immigrants and spread their agenda (Suttmoeller et al., 2018). Racially motivated are reported in Georgia and Gwinnett County. The FBI (2018) recorded 28 hate crimes perpetrated on race/ethnicity/ancestry grounds in Georgia in 2018 alone. Three hate crimes perpetrated on similar grounds were also reported in Gwinnett County, Georgia in the same year (FBI, 2018). The ensuring of minorities' and immigrants' safety is critical to avoid harm arising from propaganda and the employment of violence by hate groups and followers of such groups.

The Targeting of Latinas/os

Young (2017) observed that Mexican migrants had been a constant target of nativists. The National Origins Act of 1924, among other things, sought to limit the immigration of Mexicans and other Latinas/os into the United States. Parkin et al.'s study

revealed that 8% of homicide victims killed by far-right hate groups for anti-racial minority reasons were of Latina/o descent. The current issue of illegal immigration through the U.S.-Mexico border has brought Mexican and Latino/a minorities and immigrants into sharper focus (Young, 2017). The issue of illegal immigration is legitimate and ought to be adequately addressed. Van Ramshorst (2018) observed that the 2016 U.S. presidential elections caused racial anxieties and led to a surge in anti-immigration sentiments. Far-right hate groups view all Latinas/os as immigrants, and the latter face discrimination and are subjected to anti-immigration sentiments (Van Ramshorst, 2018).

Valdes (2005) observed that one concern raised by Latina/o scholars during the development of LatCrit theory was that racism in the United States was largely viewed as a Black-white phenomenon. Latina/o scholars proposed a rethinking of the Black-white race paradigm (Valdes, 2005). Black people in the United States historically suffered to a greater extent with slavery, racism, segregation, insult, and assault, among other forms of ill treatment. The historical struggle against racial discrimination against Black people has largely shaped the war against racism in the United States (Valdes, 2005). Latina/o scholars proposed the rethinking of the Black-white paradigm to help popularize the fact that other racial and ethnic minorities in the United States, such as Latinas/os and Asians, have faced and still face racial discrimination there and are also targets of white supremacist far-right groups (Valdes, 2005). The proposal is not aimed at belittling the immense struggle that Black people have had with racism but is aimed at expanding the struggle to achieve better outcomes (Valdes, 2005). The LatCrit theoretical framework

was formulated, among other reasons, to challenge the Black-white race paradigm (Valdes, 2005). Latinas/os have been a constant target of racist individuals and groups; hence the importance of evaluating the impact of racism on Latinas/os.

Counteracting Far-Right Groups

Chermak et al. (2013) observed that far-right groups, whether violent or otherwise, present a danger to racial and ethnic minorities in the United States and other nations because the key ideologies that motivate the groups are not conducive to the development of a society that sees beyond race and ethnicity. White supremacist far-right groups promote the dominance of whites in the United States over other races and ethnicities (Rydgren, 2018). Violent extreme-right groups and movements pose a danger to the lives and wellbeing of immigrants in the nation (Chermak et al., 2013). According to Perry (2018), the driving of a car through anti-white-supremacy and extreme-right protestors that resulted in one death and 19 injuries is evidence of the hate that drives some extreme-right supporters and groups and the need to implement initiatives aimed at counteracting far-right groups' and individuals' ideologies and activities. Several measures have been implemented in the United States by the federal and state governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and members of society to counteract far-right groups' activities and ideologies.

The Law and Law Enforcement

One way that the United States counteracts far-right activities is through the implementation of the various civil and criminal laws that have been enacted and apply to far-right groups (Chermak et al., 2009). Far-right movements and followers and white

nationalists have freedom of thought and expression; thus, they can think as they do and express their views and ideologies. They also have the freedom to peacefully assemble and express their views. The groups and their followers cannot legally contravene criminal laws that prohibit activities such as murder, assault, verbal abuse, acts of terrorism, and other criminal acts (Chermak et al., 2009). Various laws help restrict the activities of far-right groups in the United States. Those who contravene the various laws are subjected to the criminal justice system if apprehended. The laws in the country have helped deter extreme right-wing groups from engaging in crime (Chermak et al., 2009). Law enforcement agencies in the United States, such as the police and the FBI, have helped counteract the activities of far-right hate groups (Chermak et al., 2010). When far-right groups organize rallies and protests, police from different states and cities maintain a presence at such rallies and protests to ensure that they are peaceful (Chermak et al., 2010). Police also monitor the activities of such groups and investigate crimes linked to such groups or followers of the same and prosecute those found guilty of breaking the law (Chermak et al., 2010). Chermak et al. (2009) observed that the training of police regarding the ideologies, activities, and geographic location of far-right groups, among other things, is critical to the fight against such groups. The training of police and other law enforcement agencies helps apprehend members of such groups who break the law, which would help deter such groups and their followers from engaging in illegal activities (Chermak et al., 2010).

Political and Media Action

Another effective means used to counteract far-right groups is through politics (Rydgren, 2018). Far-right groups need political power to push their agenda (Bjorgo, 2014). Mainstream politicians help counteract the groups by critiquing their ideologies, actions, and motives (Rydgren, 2018). Rydgren (2018) observed that mainstream politicians ought to be careful when discussing issues that are of interest to extreme right-wing groups, as such groups count on the politicians' miscalculations to further their agenda. More political pressure could hamper the groups' ability to recruit followers.

The action of the mainstream media also helps counteract far-right movements' and parties' activities (Rydgren, 2018). Far-right groups hold controversial political ideologies. The ideologies are deeply divisive in a diverse society such as the United States. The mainstream media have been quite instrumental in the fight against such groups and their ideologies (Rydgren, 2018). Rydgren (2018) noted that radical groups blame the mainstream media for misrepresenting their views. Such blame is evidence of the mainstream media's involvement in the fight. Rydgren (2018), however, also observed that the media are blamed for helping the radicals by magnifying and publicizing their activities and views. Far-right groups have resorted to alternative media, such as internet websites and forums and print, to propagate their agenda. More media pressure would likely help counteract far-right groups in the United States.

Social Action

The actions of different organizations and members of society have helped in counteracting far-right groups and movements (Michael, 2003). Anti-white supremacy

and far-right organizations have helped significantly in opposing the groups' rallies and protests (Michael, 2003). Scholars have also helped in counteracting the movements and their activities. There are many scholarly articles and books regarding far-right groups and their activities and ideologies, among other things. The knowledge generated by scholars has helped shape policies regarding far-right groups. The ECDB, for example, is an initiative developed by U.S. scholars to help track extremists' activities (Freilich et al., 2014). The database tracks the incidents and crimes related to the extreme far right, Al Qaeda, and other extremist groups and their supporters (Freilich et al., 2014). The data from the ECDB has been used by scholars to generate knowledge and by policymakers to inform policy regarding far-right and other groups (Freilich et al., 2014). Social actions have proved to be critical to counteracting far-right (Michael, 2003).

Gaps in Literature

There exists literature that shows that nativism has a long history in the United States. Far-right hate groups in the United States have nativism as one of their main ideologies. Many such hate groups have engaged in violence in the United States, and their acts of violence have been recorded in databases such as the ECDB. The groups have racially discriminated and victimized minorities and immigrants in the country. Latinas/os are one example of immigrants who have been the target of hateful far-right organizations.

Despite extensive research carried out on the history of nativism, the existence of far-right groups and their ideologies, and the crimes committed by the groups, adequate research is lacking on the effects of far-right hate groups on minorities' and immigrants'

quality of life. This study seeks to fill the gap in knowledge through an exploration of the impact of far-right groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia, on the lives of the Latina/o population living in the County. The current illegal immigration concerns in the United States have led to a rise in anti-Latino/a sentiments, as many illegal immigrants of Latina/o descent have crossed into the United States across the Mexican border. The research will also aid in investigating whether anti-Latino/a sentiments have resulted in more discrimination and attacks on the Latina/o population.

Summary and Conclusion

Relatively liberal immigration policies have made the United States a highly diverse nation. The nation is inhabited by people of all races and ethnicities from around the world. Many far-right or extreme-right groups in the country are deeply opposed to multiculturalism and immigration and are pro-white supremacy. There is a pressing need to investigate the impact of far-right groups on lives of minorities in the United States. LatCrit forms the theoretical foundation to the study. LatCrit is a theoretical framework that was developed to help critical researchers analyze the numerous forms of oppressions that Latinas/os and other people of color face during the course of their lives. The theory has been applied to conduct research on nativism. Nativism is one ideology of far-right groups which has persisted in the United States for several centuries. Immigration was the major cause of the emergence of nativism in the United States in the early 19th century and its growth in the later 19th century.

A review of the literature shows that immigration, racism, economic concerns, cultural concerns, and politics are among the factors that have influenced the emergence

and re-emergence of nativism over the years. The re-emergence of extreme right-wing movements and political parties is one of the most significant political changes witnessed by democratic regimes today. The United States has put in place several measures to counteract far-right groups and protect minorities from being harmed by such groups. Numerous studies have confirmed the existence of a strong connection between nativism and far-right groups. Nativism is one of the dominant ideologies that drive most far-right groups. Studies show that in the United States, extreme-right ideologically motivated crimes are more likely to occur in counties with far-right hate groups. The current issue of illegal immigration through the U.S.-Mexico border has brought Mexican and Latina/o minorities and immigrants into sharper focus, and far-right groups are targeting Mexicans and Latinas/os. There is a pressing need to research the effects of far-right groups and activities on the lives of Latinas/os in the United States. There currently exists a research gap regarding the effects of far-right groups and activities on the lives of Latinas/os in the United States. The proposed research seeks to fill the existing gap.

The next chapter discusses the research method. The selected research design is discussed. The role of the researcher and the methodology is also addressed in the next chapter. Chapter three also involves a discussion of issues of trustworthiness in the research and how each issue is addressed. The chapter provides a blueprint of the steps taken to answer the posed research questions.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The purpose of this study was to explore the perceived negative impacts of far-right groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia on the lives of the Latina/o population living in the county. The study helped in to answer the research question: to what extent are Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia, impacted by the presence, racism- and violence-related propaganda, insult, assault, and/or racial discrimination of extremist far-right groups? The selected methodology for the proposed study is qualitative. The experiences of Latinas/os are explored in great depth and accurately described. This chapter includes a discussion of the study's design and rationale, role of the researcher, methodology, issues of trustworthiness, and limitations and challenges facing the study.

Qualitative Research Design and Approach

The selected research design for the study was the general qualitative design (Kahlke, 2014). The general qualitative design is used in researching problems that require the exploration and description of a specific research phenomenon (Kahlke, 2014). The approach is also applied to investigate the meaning of a certain phenomenon to target participants of interest (Kahlke, 2014). The approach is used to explore and describe a process. Interviewing is the primary method of data collection when using the basic qualitative design (Kahlke, 2014). A secondary method of data collection used in the study was document review. Documents involving hateful far-right groups or their members, Latinas/os in Gwinnett County, Georgia, and hate crimes in the state and county were gathered and analyzed.

The selected research design was best suited to answer the posed research question for several reasons. One reason is that the study aimed to explore and describe the experiences of participants, and this research method is used in the exploration and description of experiences (Kahlke, 2014). The specific experiences that the study explored and described regard the negative impacts of far-right groups on the lives of Latinas/os in Gwinnett County, Georgia (McConnell, 2011). The second reason that the design is best suited for the study is that it allowed participants to interpret their experiences and attach meaning to the experiences, which was critical to the study (Kahlke, 2014). The participants' interpretation of how encounters with hateful far-right groups, if such had happened, had affected their lives in different ways according to the meaning that they attributed to the same. Stoical participants might have been less affected by encounters with far-right groups and attribute less meaning to them than less stoical ones; hence the importance of individual interpretation. Another reason is that the selected design's primary data collection method is interviewing (Kahlke, 2014). Interviewing was the best suited method for the study (Kahlke, 2014). Document review was another suitable method as it helped the researcher access and analyze documented cases involving hateful far-right groups or members and Latinas/os.

The Role of the Researcher

One role of the researcher in the study was to select and recruit participants who were relevant to the research. The researcher used their judgment to select participants with experiences relevant to answering the research question. The second role of the researcher in the study was to attempt to access the thoughts and feelings of the study's

participants to obtain experiences relevant to the research. To avoid the researcher's bias from coloring the data collection process, structured interviews were conducted. Structured interviews aided in avoiding leading questions that might have caused participants to answer questions in a manner that fed the researcher's potential biases. The goal was to explore and describe participants' experiences, and the researcher endeavored to describe the experiences as reported by the participants. The third role was to analyze relevant documents and present findings that were relevant to the proposed study.

Methodology

The study utilized the qualitative research method. According to Yin (2015), one reason to pursue qualitative research is to understand how people cope in the world. The research method aids researchers gain experiential data that helps understand people's experiences regarding a phenomenon (Yin, 2015). The reason for pursuing this study was to understand how Latinas/os in living in Gwinnett County, Georgia are affected by encounters with hateful far-right groups and individuals and/or propaganda released by such groups and how they cope with the same. The data needed to answer the research question is experiential, and a qualitative study was best suited to access the needed data (Yin, 2015). Participants' experiences regarding encounters with far-right groups can be best obtained through talking to the participants regarding the same.

Interviewing helped probe the participants to gain as much data as possible (Yin, 2015). Document review also helped access additional data and information that could help enrich the study. Thematic data analysis was used to analyze the collected data.

Vaismoradi et al. (2013) described thematic analysis as a qualitative method of analysis that involves the identification, analysis, and reporting of themes that emerge from analyzed data. Data was coded and evaluated to identify themes and patterns, when such were present (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Thematic analysis was appropriate for the proposed study as it helped determine whether there were common themes in participants' responses regarding how they were impacted by the presence of hateful far-right groups, propaganda, insult, assault, and/or racial discrimination. The analysis of the qualitative data was carried out using NVivo software. This software is helpful when analyzing large amounts of qualitative data as it helps code data and analyze the coded data (Hilal & Alabri, 2013). The codes generated by NVivo were subjected to thematic analysis to determine whether key themes arose from the data.

Participant Selection Logic

The participants that qualified for the study were adult Latinas/os aged 18 and older living in Gwinnett County, Georgia who had previously encountered hateful far-right groups or forms of discrimination associated with their propaganda. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2018), Gwinnett County in Georgia had an estimated population of 927,781 as of July 1, 2018. The percentage of Latino/a population in the county is 21.5% (about 199,473 people). Latinas/os make up a more significant percentage of the population of this county than many other counties, although they are in the minority. The considerable number of Latinos/as increased the likelihood of getting a significant sample for the study.

Sampling

The selected sampling method for the study was purposive sampling. The selected method, which is also called purposeful or judgmental sampling, involved the researcher using their judgment to select the subjects to be studied (Lapan et al., 2011). The purposive sampling method was suited for the study as it aided the selection of participants with the particular characteristics that helped answer the posed research questions. The two key characteristics for inclusion were being a Latina/o aged 18 years and above and having encountered far-right groups and/or followers of such groups.

A sample of 20 participants aged 18 and above, consisting of all genders, was interviewed. Researchers have, in the past, argued about how many interviews are enough for a qualitative study (Adler et al., 2012). Adler et al. (2012) assert that researchers can choose from 12 to 60; Glaser and Strauss (1967) see saturation as the point of diminishing return (i.e., when the data has started repeating itself), which can be from six to 15. The proposed sample size was within the range recommended by the different scholars. However, it was determined that if data saturation had not been reached at 20 participants, data collection would continue until saturation was achieved.

The specific area targeted was Lawrenceville, Buford, Duluth, and Dacula cities within Gwinnett County. The cities were targeted because most people from diverse races in the country live around cities, which increased the likelihood of recruiting subjects relevant to the study. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2019), about 21.7% of the Gwinnet County population is Hispanic or Latina/o. The Hispanic or Latina/o population in the selected cities are estimated at 25% in Lawrenceville, 29.8% in Buford, 13.8% in

Duluth, and 17.4% in Dacula (The U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Hispanics or Latinas/os are in the minority in the county, but they are a relatively large minority. The purposive sampling began by posting on church bulletins, community centers, and social media groups and communities that attracted Latinas/os who qualify for the study. The use of the various means to begin the sampling increased the likelihood of attracting many suitable participants.

Instrumentation

The instrument used to collect participants' experiences was interviewing. Interviewing is a highly potent method of collecting experiential data from participants. Interviewing helped the subjects in the study narrate their experiences regarding the research phenomenon in greater depth and, thus, provide rich, relevant data for answering the research question (Yin, 2015). Fifteen interview questions were developed to collect data that was critical to answering the research question. The interview questions are listed in Appendix A. The research questions were altered based on the feedback received from research reviews. The questions were open-ended to gather as much input as possible from the participants. The interview took about 1 hour to complete. An interview protocol guided the interview and ensured uniformity in data collection.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

The procedure for the recruitment of participants had three steps. The first step was the identification of potential participants with the help of the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The inclusion criteria were being a Latina/o, living in Gwinnett County, Georgia, being aged 18 and above, and having encountered far-right groups,

members of the same, or such groups' propaganda. The second step in the recruitment procedure was contacting or approaching potential participants. Recruitment began with postings on church bulletins, community centers, and social media groups and communities that attract Latinas/os who qualified for the study. The third step was seeking to contact or approach participants to agree to participate in the study. Those who agreed to participate signed an informed consent form prior to the commencement of the interview.

Several steps were followed in the interviewing process of data collection. The first step in the data collection process was to contact all the recruited participants and agree on the most convenient venue and time for conducting the individual interviews. Upon meeting with each interviewee, the second step was to thank him or her, remind each about the purpose of the research, and seek his or her informed consent. After obtaining informed consent, the third step was to commence the interview. This researcher served as the sole interviewer and conducted each interview by asking the list of questions in the same order and manner. The interviewer summarized the interviewees' responses on paper and recorded the interviews on a voice recorder (if the interviewee granted permission for the same). Upon completion of the interview, the final step was to thank the participants for their contribution. No follow-up was needed with any of the interviewees as all data was collected at one interview point.

Data Analysis Plan

The data analysis method used to analyze the collected qualitative data was the thematic analysis approach. Thematic analysis is the process of identifying patterns or

themes within qualitative data. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that it is the first qualitative method that should be learned as “it provides core skills that will be useful for conducting many other kinds of analysis” (p.78). First, data was coded, and the code was assessed to determine if there were emerging themes from the same. The analysis process was rigorous to ensure that relevant knowledge and insights in respondents’ responses were extracted.

The NVivo software was utilized in the conduct of the analysis to store, organize, categorize, and analyze collected data. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis software that helps researchers analyze text-based or multimedia data. This tool enabled the storing and sorting of data within the platform, automatically sorting sentiment, themes, and attributes. NVivo enhanced thematic analysis through the automatic identification of themes. The identified themes helped to answer the research question as they gave information about the effects of extreme far-right groups on the lives of the Latina/o population living in Gwinnett County, Georgia.

Issues of Trustworthiness

The study had to be trustworthy for the findings to be accepted as true and accurate and to contribute to knowledge on the subject. The four determinants of trustworthiness for a qualitative study are credibility, transferability, conformability, and dependability. The researcher employed effective strategies to ensure that the criteria for trustworthiness were fulfilled.

Credibility

The credibility criterion is critical to the establishment of trustworthiness in the qualitative research, and the researcher endeavored to present credible findings. To demonstrate the credibility of the findings, the researcher clearly linked the findings with reality, hence demonstrating their truth. One strategy used to guarantee credibility was member checking. The strategy involved giving each participant their data, and interpretations and conclusions regarding the same, for the participant to confirm whether the data, interpretation, and conclusions were accurate, and if not, the areas to be corrected and how to carry out the correction. The member-checking strategy helped ensure that participants' inputs were adequately reported.

Transferability

The researcher endeavored to ensure that the findings of the study were applicable to other populations, situations, contexts, and times. The strategy used to ensure transferability of the study's findings was the use of thick descriptions. The researcher included in the study's findings the detailed and robust subjective experiences that they had when collecting data. The researcher discussed the contexts that surrounded data collection. The detailed descriptions of the research's settings help provide adequate information about the populations, situations, contexts, and times in which the findings can be transferred.

[[The above was the last page I edited thoroughly, so please be sure to continue through this chapter and make the appropriate changes, as they are indicated above.]]

Dependability

Dependability regards the findings of a study being consistent with the raw data gathered from the participants (Lapan et al., 2011). The researcher endeavored to ensure that other researchers would derive similar findings if they were to analyze the raw data collected from selected participants. One strategy used to ensure dependability was to have another researcher, uninvolved with the proposed study, perform an inquiry audit to determine if the reported findings necessarily followed from the collected data. To enhance the inquiry audit, an audit trail that provided the auditing researcher with details regarding how the findings were derived from the collected data was created. The audit trail aided the determination of whether the results followed from the raw data.

Conformability

The researcher also ensured that the reported findings were not colored by their own biases but by the participants' experiences. The audit trail created to enhance the dependability of the study also helped in ensuring conformability. The trail showed how the findings tracked back to the raw data collected from participants. The reflexivity technique was also employed to ensure the conformability of the findings as it aided the researcher to assess their own background and biases to determine how such would influence the research process. Reflexivity further helped avoid biases from distorting the study's findings.

Ethical Considerations

One ethical consideration that was critical to the proposed study is that of informed consent. The discussion of hateful far-right groups' activities and how the

activities had negatively affected participants was quite risky. It could expose participants to being further harmed by such groups and their members. Selected participants needed to be provided with adequate information regarding the study to make an informed decision regarding whether to participate in the research. The ethical issue of informed consent was solved through providing selected participants with an informed consent form. The informed consent form detailed the purpose of the study, potential risks, expected benefits, the protection of participants' privacy and confidentiality, and compensation for injuries. The form also reminded participants about their right to withdraw from the study at any time that they felt necessary. The participants needed to sign the informed consent form if they agreed to participate in the study.

Two other ethical considerations that were critical to the study are the issues of privacy and confidentiality. Given the risks involved, participants might have wanted to keep certain information private or confidential. Privacy regards the right to keep personal matters secret. The researcher did not attempt to breach participants' right to privacy by pushing them to share matters that they considered private and wanted to remain secret. Confidentiality regards the protection of the participants' identity to prevent outside parties from linking certain information in the study to a particular person. Confidentiality is critical to anonymity. Given the risks that can arise from participants' taking part in the study, confidentiality was employed to maximize participants' anonymity. The researcher used unique codes to refer to participants and not their names. Only the researcher knew the true identity of each participant. Maximizing

protection of participants' privacy and confidentiality encouraged them to take part in the study.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore the negative impacts of far-right groups on the lives of the Latina/o population living in Gwinnett County. The selected research design for the proposed study was the basic qualitative research design. The roles of the researcher were to select the study's participants and access the experiences the selected participants had regarding the phenomenon of interest. The selected participants for the study were adult Latinas/os aged 18 and older living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The instrument used to collect participants' experiences was interviewing. The document review data collection method was also used to collect relevant data. The main data source for the study was the primary data collected through interviewing. Data collection was carried out in well-organized steps to ensure the best outcome. The data analysis method principally used was the thematic analysis approach. The researcher employed effective strategies to ensure that the criteria for trustworthiness were fulfilled. There were several limitations and ethical issues facing the study. Adequate strategies were selected to deal with the limitations and ethical issues. Chapter 4 discusses results and key findings.

Chapter 4: Results

The influence of far-right groups has been felt throughout American society. A great deal of information has been written about the effects of far-right groups. However, there is little information about the impact these groups have on the lives of Latinas/os, especially those living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. This study, therefore, was conducted to determine the effects of far-right groups on the lives of Latina/os in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The primary research question was centered on the degree to which the Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County were affected by the presence, racism- and violence-related propaganda, insult, assault, and racial discrimination by extremist far-right groups. A qualitative study consisting of interviewing 20 Latinas/os of all genders aged above 18 years from Gwinnett County, Georgia was conducted to examine this issue. The responses they gave were recorded and analyzed with NVivo thematic software to help find the central themes and patterns to answer the research question. This chapter includes the findings of this analysis.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

This study aimed to put the knowledge created through the research into practice. Therefore, it needed to be trustworthy for the findings to be accepted as true and accurate and to contribute to the knowledge on the subject. Hence, research protocols were carried out to maximize credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability, which are the four determinants of trustworthiness for a qualitative study.

Credibility

The credibility criterion was critical to establishing trustworthiness in the qualitative research, and the researcher endeavored to present credible findings. To demonstrate the findings' credibility, I clearly linked the findings with reality, demonstrating their truthfulness. One strategy that I used to guarantee credibility is member checking. I ensured that the participants' verified transcripts I had made of the interviews to ensure they were accurate prior to data analysis. This member-checking strategy helped to ensure that the participants' inputs were effectively and adequately reported. I also engaged in peer debriefing to provide an external check on the research process. This approach was aimed at increasing the credibility of the research and examining referential adequacy. It also permitted me to check the results of preliminary findings against the raw data.

Transferability

I tried to ensure that the study's findings would be applicable to other populations, situations, contexts, and times. In this sense, I provided detailed descriptions, that is, paying attention to context and then observing and interpreting different meanings during the research process. I have also provided explicit details of my sample, participants, and methods in the results section. I have done so because I want future researchers to be able to, for example, replicate my study either using an entirely different sample or identical participant demographics. I have also tried to discuss the contexts in which data was collected. The detailed descriptions of the settings within which this research was

conducted help to provide quality information in terms of the population, situations, contexts, and times, which can be transferred to future studies.

Dependability

The study is dependable in the sense that the findings are consistent with the raw data gathered from the participants. To achieve this, I ensured that the research was logical, traceable, and clearly documented. This means that future researchers can follow the decisions I made relating to the study and understand why I made such decisions. I have endeavored to ensure that other researchers would derive similar findings if they were to analyze the raw data that I collected from selected participants.

Conformability

I have ensured that the reported findings are not colored by my biases but by the participants' experiences. I have demonstrated how I have reached certain conclusions and interpretations. I have also achieved conformity by including markers such as the reasons for theoretical, methodological, and analytical choices throughout the entire study. This is important in helping others understand how and why I reached certain conclusions and interpretations.

Results

The interviews were conducted to probe the experiences of Latinos/as' encounters with far-right groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The messages were posted on social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Reddit, and LinkedIn), thus inviting potential candidates to participate in the study. In total, 57 potential candidates reached out to me, but only 27 met the inclusion criteria. Of the 27, only 20 responded to the invitation email

and consented to participate in the study. In light of the COVID-19 restrictions, the interviews were conducted by phone, Zoom, and Skype. All interviews were recorded. In preparation for these interviews, a list of primary and probing questions was developed based on the study's aims and objectives. Although very broad in design, the questions focused on revealing the perspectives of Latinos/as living in Gwinnett County, Georgia and their encounters with far-right groups. A list of the interview questions is included in Appendix B.

The information obtained from the interviews was analyzed in three major steps. The first step involved identifying the major themes: The notes from each individual interview were typed, hand-coded, and organized. The five major themes identified were encounters with far-right groups, the nature of the encounters, the frequency of the encounters, the impact of these encounters on the lives of the participants, and the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in combating the evils committed by far-right individuals or groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia. These themes are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1*Major Themes*

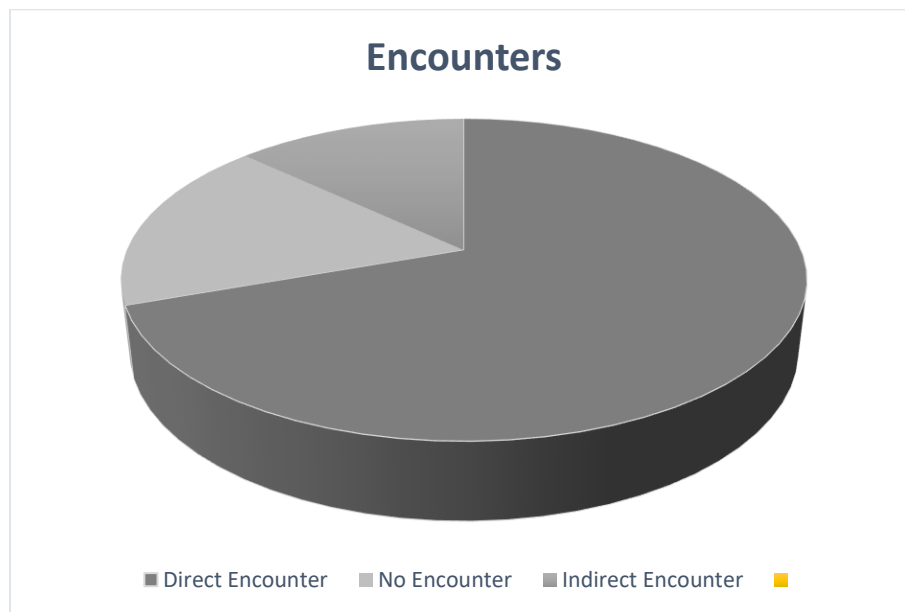
Major Themes	Example Words/Phrases Used to Organize the Themes
Encounter with Far-right Groups	Encountered with
Nature of Encounter	Insult, assault, discrimination
Frequency of the Encounters	How often
Impact of the Encounters	How were you affected?
Effectiveness of Law Enforcement Agencies	Efforts by the police and the FBI

The second step involved the categorization of data, revealing patterns among data within the same categories. It was here that I explored the participants' responses and grouped them into their respective themes via the NVivo software. I did this to show the effects that far-right groups/individuals have on the lives of the Latinos/as living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The NVivo software, in addition to storing the data, was useful in organizing, categorizing, and analyzing the collected data. The third and last step involved exploring the connections between the themes and the participants' demographic data. The exploration of the themes in connection to the participants' demographic data revealed several interesting findings, which are listed below through thematic categorization.

Theme 1: Encounters with Far-Right Groups

One of the major findings from the interview data was that most of the participants had encountered far-right groups/individuals in one way or another. Out of the 20 participants, 80% (16) reported that they had directly encountered far-right groups in Gwinnett County. Of the 16 participants who directly encountered far-right groups, 81% (13 out of 16) had also indirectly experienced them by seeing their friends or family members enter into confrontations with far-right groups/individuals. Churches, schools, supermarkets, and shopping malls were the most common places where these encounters had occurred. Figure 1 shows the proportion of the participants who reported direct encounters with far-right groups compared to those who had never reported any and with those who had reported indirect encounters.

One participant reported having encountered these people in school debate contests. According to this participant, individuals affiliated with a far-right group do not take suggestions or opinions from an individual who is not considered to be a Native American. One of the participants who had had indirect encounters referred to the far-right group members as “White supremacists” who espouse ultranationalist, racist, or fascist doctrines and who often have to “rely on violence to achieve their goals.” Another participant talked about their encounter with far-right groups and described it as “one hell of an encounter” since the weapons the members of these groups carried—ready to cause chaos and death—instilled fear. Another participant described the encounter as “dreadful and one she would not wish to go through ever again.”

Figure 1*Encounters with Far-Right Groups***Theme 2: Nature of Encounters**

Regarding Theme 2, I was interested in knowing the type of treatment the participants received from far-right groups/individuals. The major recurring themes here were the issues of racial discrimination, bullying, insults, and assault. For data analysis purposes, these themes were divided into six distinctive groups: Assault and insults, assault, insult, discrimination, discrimination only, insults and discrimination, none, and other. Out of 20 participants, 25% (5) reported that they had been, in one way or another, assaulted and insulted. There were three cases (15%) of assault, insult, and discrimination. Cases of discrimination only and insult and discrimination were reported by six (30%) and four participants (25%), respectively. There was only one case (5%) of

other forms of encounter, and only two (10%) participants reported not having had any type of confrontation with far-right groups. These findings are summarized in Tables 2 and 3.

Describing what it was like to encounter a far-right group, one participant said, “These people are more than bullies. They will harass you to the core and end up hurling insults and assaults.” Another participant noted the far-right group’s members “are both sadists and narcissists, who get satisfaction by seeing others suffer.” “They are selfish and self-centered individuals, who insulted and severely beat me up just because I shared a contrary opinion,” another participant lamented. Two of the participants noted that even the police, people who were supposed to maintain law and order and ensure justice at all levels, had treated them unfairly and not responded in time when they reached out for help after being assaulted by far-right groups. Cases of racial discrimination were many, and some of the participants said that they had been denied entry into eateries or public support systems because of their cultural ties to Latin America or had been served last or poorly in banks or restaurants owned by white supremacists. One participant noted,

My friend was assaulted and racially discriminated against near a bus station. He was denied to board a bus by one of the far-right group members just because he was a Latino. When he tried to get his way into the bus, he was severely beaten and left there with no one to take him to the hospital.

Table 2*Nature of Encounter in Relation to Gender and Age of Participants*

Participants Attributes	Age= 18– 25(5)	Male (14)		Age=18 –25(4)	Female (6)		Total 20
		Age=26 –35(6)	Age=36 and above(3)		Age=26 –35(1)	Age=36 and above (1)	
Assault and Insult	1	1	1	1	0		5
Assault, Insult, and Discrimination	0	1	0	1	1	1	3
Discrimination Only	2	2	0	2	0	0	6
Assault and Insult Other	1	1	1	1	0	0	4
None	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total (Unique)	5	6	3	3	1	1	19

Table 3*Nature of Encounter in Relation to Gender and Nationality*

Participants Attributes	Male (14)		Female (6)		Total (20)
	Immigrants (9)	Native (5)	Immigrants (5)	Native (1)	
Assault and Insult	2	1	2	0	5
Assault, Insult, and Discrimination	1	0	2	0	3
Discrimination Only	3	2	1	1	6
Assault and Insult Other	2	1	1	0	4
None	1	0	0	0	1
Total (Unique)	9	5	6	1	20

Theme 3: Frequency of the Encounters

Given that the highest percentage of research participants reported having encountered confrontations with far-right groups, I was interested in knowing how often they had suffered from the behavior or actions of such groups/individuals. Upon inquiry, 10 of the 20 participants (50%) reported that they encountered the far-right groups frequently, most of them citing three times a month. Six (30%) said this did not happen often, noting that they had only had one or two encounters with far-right groups. Two

(20%) participants said they had never encountered them. A summary of these findings can be found in Tables 4 and 5.

One participant who reported having suffered frequently said that she was discriminated against during childhood, during high school, and after college while attending a business forum. Another said that the far-right groups are so rampant in American society that they could not go a week without suffering from their actions more than twice. Asked how frequent they have encountered far right groups, one participant responded, “In a week, approximately five times, our fellow youth constitute the largest number of groups and happen to be the ones we interact mostly with.” Another observed that there was a time when being discriminated against by these individuals was the norm. He noted that he was so used to it that he did not care about being discriminated against but, rather, being insulted or assaulted. Others could not recall the times they had been discriminated against, assaulted, and insulted just because of their cultural ties to Latin America. According to one participant, “I have been insulted in almost all encounters that I can recall.”

[[The above was the last page I edited thoroughly, so please be sure to continue through this chapter and make the appropriate changes, as they are indicated above.]]

Table 4*Frequency of Encounter in Relation to Gender and Age of Participants*

Participants Attributes	Male (14)			Female (6)			Total 20
	Age =18– 25 (5)	Age=26– 35 (5)	Age=36 and above (3)	Age=18– 25(4)	Age=26– 35(1)	Age=36 and above (1)	
Often	2	2	3	2	0	1	10
Not Often	2	2	0	2	0	0	6
Never	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Total (Unique)	5	5	3	4	0	1	18

Table 5*Frequency of Encounters in Relation to Gender and Nationality of Participants*

Participants Attributes	Male (14)		Female (6)		Total (20)
	Immigrants (9)	Native (5)	Immigrants (5)	Native (1)	
Often	4	3	3	0	10
Not Often	3	1	1	1	6
Never	1	1	0	0	2
Total (Unique)	8	5	4	1	18

Theme 4: Impact of the Encounters on the Lives of the Participants

It is not a pleasant thing to face a far-right group or individual, especially if you are a Latino/a. This is what most of the participants had to say when asked what it felt like to encounter far-right groups. To have a clear understanding of what it feels like to be abused, insulted, assaulted, and discriminated against by far-right groups, the participants who were either insulted, assaulted, or discriminated against were asked to describe how they suffered from this behavior in the short term. Stress was a common experience among most participants, with 14 cases (70%) reported. Thirty-five percent of others (7 of 20) reported developing self-esteem issues to the point of hating themselves because of their cultural ties to Latin America. Six (30%) participants were depressed at some time in their lives, two (10%) suffered from anger management problems, and two (10%) suffered from physical injuries. Poor performance in school and work (25%) and social isolation (10) were other major effects reported to arise from the participants' confrontations with far-right groups. Most of the participants who reported negative effects noted that they only lasted a short time. However, two participants suffered physically as well as mentally as a result of assault received at the hands of far-right groups. Other participants (10%, or two of 20) said their encounters with far-right groups were an eye-opener since it made some become activists; only one participant reported not having been affected in any way.

One participant said that he lost his power of concentration as a result of being stressed and depressed. In the long run, his performance in school declined to the extent

that the teachers were concerned. Luckily, he was able to recover with time, following the therapy session he received. The participant lamented:

It has affected me health-wise; I get depressed so much sometimes, I feel like I don't belong even when among people who aren't far-right group members. I have been in and out of depression, and sometimes I had to undergo therapy sessions.

I was intrigued by one participant who noted, with a smile, that whatever she went through was an eye-opener and made her change her perception of life; she said it made her appreciate her cultural identity “like never before.” She said “I wouldn't say it has affected my life, but rather my perception of life that I appreciate my color and origin.”

One of the participants, who reported having anger management issues, said that he ended up in a gang that he felt would protect him from far-right groups. He noted:

Being a weakling, I had to affiliate to a group where I could be protected. That is how I ended up in a gang. That one step was almost the end of me. In return for protection, I ended up fighting many battles than when I was on my own. To be protected, I also had to protect others. It slowly grew from a protection unit to an assaulting gang.

In another dimension, one of those who suffered depression noted that it was so serious that he had to seek medical attention, where he was taught some healthy living habits to combat stress and depression. Another participant who suffered from stress and depression ended up jobless as the management at her place of work fired her because of poor performance.

Theme 5: Effectiveness of Law Enforcement Officers in Combating Far-Right Groups

The police and the FBI were reported to handle far-right groups differently. A vast majority of the participants (75%, or 15 out of 20) believed that the FBI is doing a tremendous job in combating these groups and individuals. The other 25% (5 out of 20) thought that the FBI is not putting in any effort. When asked about the police's efforts toward the same, 18 (90%) participants said that the police are not effective in any way. According to these participants, the police are, in one way or another, encouraging far-right groups to discriminate against Latinos/as. As seen in Tables 8 and 9, the participants have no faith in the local law enforcement officers.

Describing the efforts of the police officers to combat insults, assault, and discrimination of minorities by far-right groups, two participants observed that “the police are part of the far-right groups,” thus making it difficult for them to counter these groups' influence. Another participant said that the police are not even trying, let alone putting any effort into their work. Others lamented that the police, just like the racist individuals or groups, harass and arrest minorities aimlessly and charge them harshly. This one participant noted the following:

In my opinion, I don't think that the law enforcers who are sympathetic to these groups will ever be in a position to fight the extreme- right groups in the country. In most cases, these groups maybe sponsored or financed by prominent people who may not want to directly engage. So, they use these anti-governmental

bodies. I will not be shocked if we learn that some of the so-called police are members of these extreme-right groups.

The general feeling is that if the task of combating insult, assault, and/or racial discrimination is left solely to the police, minorities will continue to suffer at the hands of far-right groups for most of their lives. However, the same picture did not emerge in relation to how Latinos/as perceive the efforts of the FBI toward combating the influence of these groups and individuals. Thirty percent (six out of 20) of the participants had faith in both the FBI and the police, while a vast majority (80%, or 16 out of 20) believed that the FBI is on the right track.

Summary

The study participants all agreed that far-right groups are not friendly in any way to the Latinos/as living in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The five major themes identified, namely an encounter with far-right groups, the nature of the encounters, the frequency of the encounters, the impact of these encounters on the lives of the participants, and the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in combating the evils committed by far-right individuals or groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia, provide a clear picture of what Latinos/as living in Gwinnett County experience. Evidently, the chance of a Latino/a residing in Gwinnett County and not encountering far-right groups is minimal. Besides, those who encounter such groups report negative encounters, receiving insults, sometimes assault and discrimination. Due to this form of treatment at the hands of far-right groups, these Latinos/as become stressed, depressed, and have a low performance at school and the workplace. This shows the need for combined efforts to combat the

actions of far-right groups to ensure zero sufferings for Latinos/as at their hands.

However, although some have reported they hope things might turn out well following intervention from law enforcement agencies such as the police and FBI, some participants feel nothing will change as some police officers and FBI agents are part and parcel of these groups.

Having collected the data and reported the findings, I focus in the next chapter on interpreting them. In Chapter 5, I interpret the findings with the reviewed literature to understand the far-right groups' actions in detail and determine the factors that drive them. I then discuss the limitations of the study, ending with suggestions and recommendations of what needs to be done to ensure far-right groups' actions are combated in Gwinnett County, Georgia, and the implications of this study.

Chapter 5: Resources

For a long time, Latinos/as have encountered opposition from far-right groups. These far-right groups are mainly White supremacists. Their ideology consists of an authoritarian mentality that fosters their belief that they are the superior people in this world. We live in the era of the global village, where diversity is accommodated in most parts of the world. America is a host country to many people from different parts of the world. These people include Arabs, Latinos/as, Africans, and others who are non-natives. However, this move has not been taken lightly by locals and other groups, who view immigrants as outsiders who come to their country to take their share of the economy that the U.S. government offers.

The increase in the number of immigrants to the United States is due to many factors: people fleeing wars in their home countries, those coming in search of job opportunities, other people gaining green cards (which are a clear passage to enter and stay in the United States), among others. This research explores some of the encounters that Latinos/as have had with far-right groups. A research study was conducted on a selected population group with the aim of understanding some of the experiences that Latinos/as have faced at the hands of the aforementioned supremacists. The results were obtained and divided into five different themes. The five major themes identified were encounters with far-right groups, the nature of these encounters, the frequency of these encounters, the impact of these encounters on the lives of the participants, and the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in combating the evils committed by far-right individuals or groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia.

This chapter focuses on interpreting the results of the collected data. It seeks to connect the findings of the reviewed literature in order to understand far-right groups' actions and determine the factors that drive such groups. It also discusses the study's limitations and implications and recommends what can be done to ensure far-right groups' actions are combated in Gwinnett County, Georgia.

Interpretation of the Findings

The study derived some results on the different encounters with far-right groups that Latinos/as have faced and how they have been affected, among other factors. A finding was that Latinos/as have faced harsh treatment from far-right groups because they are regarded as immigrants. Far-right groups argue that immigrants should not be given the same opportunities as native citizens. This finding is in line with a study by Higham (2002), who asserted that immigration was the major cause of the emergence of nativism, a main ideology of far-right organizations, in the United States in the early 19th century and its growth in the later 19th century. Thus, people who believe in nativism have been advocating for the deportation of immigrants to their native countries. This explains why the Latinos/as residing in Gwinnett County report negative encounters such as insults, sporadic assault, and discrimination—this is the study's second finding. Why would far-right groups subject Latinos/as to such treatment? Although the study did not attempt to answer this question, several researchers have researched the question, and the answer is well-documented. According to Young (2017), nativists racially discriminate against immigrants because they believe that their customs and behaviors threaten U.S. society.

The economic threat posed by immigrants, as described by Young (2017), could also be why Latinos/as are discriminated against in Gwinnett County. Additionally, concerning cultural effects on Latinos/as were observed due to their interactions with white supremacists. According to Young (2017), Latinas/os have their own culture, which has not always been in rhythm with the natives'. This is because most Latinas/os are conservatives, and they retain their culture. Cultural factors include their hairstyles and ways of living and dressing, among others. Far-right groups fear these customs when assimilated into U.S. society (Young, 2017).

The finding that the chance of Latinos/as residing in Gwinnett County and not encountering harsh treatment at the hands of far-right groups is minimal supports what Young (2017) found. From the response of the participants, it is evident that, although the majority of the ill treatment to which Latinos/as are subjected is based on anti-immigration ideas, racial nativism also plays a significant role. This may explain why a large number of participants talked about people being bullied, beaten up, insulted, and lynched because of the color of their skin. Muis and Immerzed (2017) and Parkin et al. (2015) agreed that extreme far-right groups are open racists who openly embrace Fascism and the use of violence, such as assault. Adamczyk et al. (2014) and Chermak et al. (2013) support this study's assertion that Latinos/as who experience harsh treatment from far-right groups and their followers suffer psychologically and physically. These two studies assert that lives have been lost from racial nativism.

It is evident that politics also plays a role in the issues between far-right groups and Latinos/as. The last finding of the study was that law enforcers, including the FBI

and the police, have failed to play their part in protecting immigrants. This finding is in agreement with a study by Van Ramshort (2018). According to this study, law enforcement discriminating against Latinos/as has also exacerbated the emergence and re-emergence of nativism in the United States. Generally, Latino/a Americans believe they have not received justice from law enforcement since their cries remain unanswered even when they report cases of discrimination by far-right groups or individuals. This study has determined that Latinos/as are hit hard whenever they have encounters with white supremacists, and something needs to be done urgently. Van Ramshorst (2018) also explained the effects of general politics on this issue. In the 2016 presidential election, for example, presidential candidate Donald Trump put illegal immigration on his campaign agenda (Van Ramshorst, 2018). Far-right groups that subscribe to nativism, such as the Alt-right, which seeks political influence, attempted to hijack the agenda and spread their message to influence U.S. voters politically (Van Ramshorst, 2018). The Alt-right supported the election of Donald Trump because of his stance on immigration (Hawley, 2017).

Limitations of the Study

The researcher faced several limitations and problems during the process of collecting data. One of the limitations was the small sample size. Typically, a sample size of 20 could have made it difficult to determine if the study's outcomes were valid. Consequently, the transferability of the results of the study is limited because of the lack of adequate resources to access a larger sample population and collect more data. It limits the transferability of the study's findings to the entire Latino/s and minority population in

the United States who have encountered hateful far-right groups. Studies show that the larger the sample size under study, the higher and better the reliability and validity. A second limitation to the study was the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic. The WHO laid out various protocols to fight the pandemic. One of the protocols that truly limited the study's findings was social distancing, whereby people were not allowed to get close to each other. Due to this containment measure, it was impossible to hold physical interviews, which limited the study to an extent. Most of the interviews were held through online platforms, including Skype and Zoom. Not many people could subscribe to this modality because of other commitments. This related directly to the low number of people who turned out for the interviews and the shortage of eligible candidates. In addition, some of the interviewees might have given the wrong information because the interviews did not require their physical presence.

Another limitation is the methodology that was selected for the study. A basic qualitative approach was used to conduct the study. Data was collected through interviews. Participants who had encountered hateful far-right groups and/or their propaganda were expected to recall experiences for the research, such as how they felt about their experiences and how those experiences had affected or were still affecting their lives. Some participants might have experienced challenges in accurately recalling the necessary data, resulting in inaccurate data that could have distorted the study's findings. The researcher could have only requested participants to recall their experiences as accurately as possible if they have had such experiences.

Recommendations

Academic Recommendations

Different scholars around the world have researched the topic of far-right groups. However, I feel that there is much more to the topic that needs to be explored. Therefore, I make several recommendations related to this topic.

First, future research should focus on the causes and consequences of the rise of populist radical-right parties and movements in the United States. Specifically, researchers should (a) examine demand-side approaches to the fortunes of populist right parties (these approaches include internal supply-side factors and explanations of political opportunity that relate to ideological, organizational, and leadership positioning); and (b) examine the impacts of these groups to determine whether they constitute a corrective or a threat to democracy in the United States.

Second, research should investigate whether the resurgence of far-right groups in the United States is a political, cultural, or economic phenomenon or a combination of the factors. These three factors tied to the striking rise in support for far-right groups is not clear.

Lastly, research should examine the influence of far-right groups on policy making in the United States. Although scholars have addressed far-right groups from different angles, the influence of these parties on policy making remains understudied. Such research will help us to understand whether far-right groups affect public policies.

Practical Recommendations

Daniels (2017) claimed that far-right groups pose a significant threat to Latinos/as' livelihoods in both the United States and other parts of the world. This is because the factors that motivate far-right groups to discriminate against minority groups are nowhere near humankind's respect. Several recommendations can be made to counter the activities of these groups. One of the recommendations for enhancing the safety of the Latino/a minority group involves the law and law enforcement. Another recommendation is further exploration of current government policies and programs combatting threatening behavior by far-right groups against Latinos/as (McConnell, 2019). Far-right groups make threats with the assumption that their speech and expression are guaranteed by the Constitution. However, laws could be formulated to let them know that their freedom should in no way interfere with the rights of others.

A further recommendation to counter the acts of far-right groups against Latinos/as concerns political and media actions. Political support can be effective in counteracting the actions of far-right groups. Politicians can show their support by critiquing and campaigning against far-right group members' ideologies, motives, and mentalities. Mainstream media also have a role to play in countering the activities of these groups against Latinos/as (Halla et al., 2017). Far-right groups usually give political interviews and exhibit ideologies that are mostly divisive and should be condemned. No party is at the forefront of condemning such actions apart from mainstream media and journalists. This is because they are watched and listened to worldwide, and any action that they take can seriously impact far-right groups.

The third recommendation to counter far-right groups is the use of social actions. Such actions involve different organizations and members of society raising the alarm about different issues throughout the country. Anti-White-supremacy organizations have been at the forefront of ensuring that minority groups such as Latinos/as do not face any form of discrimination from natives. Scholars, who are also part of society, can play their part in ensuring that minorities are not discriminated against. One way they do so is by publishing scholarly materials in magazines and newspapers that condemn such activities. Scholars can also form operational groups that can be a channel to reach supremacists and shun their oppressive ways.

Implications of the Study

The findings of this study may have future implications. One likely positive implication is that minority groups will be heard, and discrimination against them is reduced. The United States is committed to diversity and ensuring that immigrants, whether Latino/s or not, are accommodated just like natives. Another implication might be the reduction of negative effects on the lives of Latinos/as due to the activities of far-right groups.

Another implication of the study is that law enforcement agencies will be brought closer to protecting Latinos/as than previously. The formulation of laws that protect minorities is one implication that can help the future of Latinos/as. This can only be achieved when the involved parties play their part in ensuring that it is accomplished. The involved parties include scholars, activists, and NGOs, among others. After the laws have

been formulated, the onus will be on law enforcement to implement the laws passed by congress.

While there are positive implications, there are also negative implications of the study. One of them is that it could fuel “bad blood” between White supremacists and Latinas/os (Van Ramshorst, 2018). The study aimed to bring some solutions to the problems between the far-right and Latinas/os. However, the groups can feel that everyone is against them and react defensively instead of changing their ways. As a result, hatred can increase and relations worsen instead of improve.

Conclusion

The study aimed to probe Latinas/os’ encounters with far-right groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia. The study was also designed to interpret results from the conclusions, which was achieved. Recently, the United States has hosted many people from different parts of the world, including Arabs, Latinas/os, and Africans, among others who are not locals but immigrants to the country. The study has found that Latinas/os suffer considerably at the hands of far-right groups where discrimination is rampant in the County. The major themes that the study used to evaluate the data included Latinas/os’ encounters with far-right groups; the nature, frequency, and impact of the encounters; and law enforcement agencies’ effectiveness. The study also formulated some recommendations that can enhance the relationship between far-right groups and Latinas/os. The study concluded by indicating some implications that its recommendations can have for researchers who would like to focus on the topic of the study in their work.

The unfair treatment of minorities in the United States along racial lines is not new to many. This is reflected in how law enforcement agencies in the United States handle enforcement issues with minorities. Before and after the American Civil War and before the September 2001 attack, Latinos/as were at the center of racial profiling. Since these terrorist attacks, minorities such as Latinas/os have become the primary targets of racial profiling by law enforcement agencies in the United States. Racial classifications in the United States have long been linked to various forms of oppression. Indeed, the various forms in which oppression caused harm to individuals in the racially oppressed category in the pre- and post-Civil War periods in the United States cannot be understated. Moreover, it would be wrong to think that historical racial oppression in the United States is something that has only affected the lives of Latinos/as: It is evident that historical racism has significantly shaped the landscape of American society, post-Civil War politics, and the lives of White American supremacists, who have been discriminating against minorities ever since.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Background Information:

By conducting one-on-one interviews with Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, there was an opportunity to provide valuable insight to future researchers on the experiences of this group with the activities of these far-right groups.

Background of the study:

The purpose of this study was to explore the negative impacts of the activities of far-right groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia, on the lives of the Latina/o population living in the County.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

This study is voluntary. Participants were free to accept or turn down the invitation. Participants could decline to answer any question or leave the interview if they were uncomfortable answering some of the questions. Participants did not have to answer any questions they did not wish to, and had the right to withdraw with no repercussions.

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. Were you born in the United States, or did you immigrate to the country?
2. What do you know about far-right or extreme right-wing groups and followers of such groups in the United States?
3. Have you ever encountered far-right or extreme right-wing groups and/or followers of such groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia, or anywhere in the United States?
4. If yes, in question 3 above, describe your encounter with such groups or individuals who are members of such groups.
5. Do you know anyone in your community who has encountered far-right or extreme right-wing groups and/or followers of such groups in Gwinnett County, Georgia, or anywhere in the United States?
6. Have you ever been insulted, assaulted, and/or racially discriminated by far-right or extreme right-wing groups or followers of such groups?
7. If yes, in question 5 above, how often have you been insulted, assaulted, and/or racially discriminated by such groups or members of the same?
8. If yes, in question 5 above, how did the insult, assault, and/or racial discrimination affect you at the time?
9. If yes, in question 5 above, how have the insult, assault, and/or racial discrimination affected your life in the long run?

10. Do you know anyone in your community who has been insulted, assaulted, and/or racially discriminated by far-right or extreme right-wing groups or followers of such groups?
11. If yes, in question 10 above, how was the member of your community affected by the experience?
12. In your opinion, how effective are law enforcement agencies such as the police and FBI in combating insult, assault, and/or racial discrimination of minorities by racist individuals or groups?
13. How would you describe your overall experience of living in the United States as a Latina/o?
14. Thank you for your answers. Do you have anything else you'd like to share?
15. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix C: Letter of Introduction

Invitation to Participate in Research Study

Dear Prospective Participant,

My name is Collins Uhuangho, a doctoral student at Webster University. I am kindly requesting your participation in a doctoral research study that I am conducting titled: *The Impact of Far-Right Groups on the Lives of Latinas/os in Gwinnett County, Georgia*.

The intention is to assess and explore the extent to which Latinas/os living in Gwinnett County, Georgia are affected by the presence, racism- and violence-related propaganda, insults, and racial discrimination by extremist far-right groups. It is unlikely you will receive any direct benefits by participating in this interview. You may, of course, experience a range of (diverse) emotions such as happiness, sadness, a sense of fulfillment, and feelings associated with your memories. Besides, your participation in the research will be of great importance to assist in social change in ensuring that proper evaluation of the effectiveness of the existing state and local government policies regarding the protection of racial minorities is achieved.

In order to decide whether or not you want to be a part of the current research study, you should understand that if you volunteer, you will be asked to take part in an interview with a researcher experienced in sensitive issues. The interview will last approximately 60–120 minutes. The interview will be conducted, when possible, in person. However, phone/internet options are available for those who do not want to meet in person with me.

Participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time.

The study is completely anonymous; therefore, it does not require you to provide your name or any other identifying information.

Appendix D: Participant Email Invitation

Dear Prospective Participant,

As I stated in our phone conversation, my name is Collins Uhuangho and I am in the Walden PhD program. As part of my coursework, I am conducting a qualitative research on the impact of far-right groups on the lives of Latinas/os in Gwinnett County, Georgia.

Participation in the study will require completing an informed consent statement allowing me to interview you over the phone. The whole process should take no more than 90 minutes of your time.

If you would like to participate, please reply to this email with the words “I give voluntary consent.” You may also withdraw at any time with no repercussions.

You can contact me by phone or email if you have any questions.

Best Regards, Collins O. Uhuangho

Walden University doctoral candidate