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Between Populism and Settler Colonialism: A US Case Study

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United States political history is a uniquely populist and settler one. While there is plenty of scholarship on populism and on settler colonialism separately, there is a significant gap in understanding how the political phenomena are connected. To begin to remedy this gap, I argue that particularly in the US political context, populist and settler colonial sociopolitical logics are both historically and theoretically interconnected. Both political phenomena are central to understanding the foundations of American socio-political life. Working in a theoretical-historical mode, I identify five ways in which settler colonialism and populism have intersected, and in the process produce a set of logical functions: to categorize, subordinate, dismiss, authorize, and defy. These functions reveal a mirrored internal logic to populism and settler colonialism. Using this theoretical analytic, I will then discuss four distinct moments of populist politics in the US: Shays' Rebellion, Andrew Jackson's presidency, the emergence of the People's Party, and Donald Trump's presidency. The intertwined logics are present and coarticulated in each of these populist waves, with certain logics dominant at different times. Ultimately, this thesis will reveal that both populist and settler colonial political logics are interdependent, foundational, and continuous features of US politics and that, therefore, populism and settler colonialism in the US context ought to be considered in tandem.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis began as an investigation of different events in US history that I noticed through my coursework were entangled in both populist and settler colonial politics. Andrew Jackson's presidency was initially one the most compelling moments of both populist and settler colonial history, where I saw little existing dialogue across those academic frameworks. I became curious about what seemed to be a disconnect between the scholarship on populism and that on settler colonialism in U.S. political history. Eventually this became a question: Is there a conceptual means to bring these inquiries together in a more robust and systematic way? Working with my thesis advisor over a period of months, I decided to look at a series of events in U.S. history to determine to what extent settler colonialism and populist politics overlapped, and to build a framework to help us theorize their intersectionality in the chosen cases and beyond.

In this thesis I argue that settler and populist logics are both historically and theoretically interdependent. By this, I mean to say that due to their similarities, each logic often utilizes each other's arguments to propel their own. The settler project can use populist politics to advance its boundaries, and conversely, populist entitlements can draw from settler dynamics. In this interdependence, I have also realized their foundational and continuous relevance in US

politics, which leads me to conclude that they are persistent features of US politics rather than coincidental and disparate waves of political fervor. These conclusions are reached through an overview of each political structure in the literature review, a theoretical analysis of five shared components, and a historical application of this theoretical framework to four moments throughout US history. I begin by reviewing how both major concepts are currently defined in the scholarship (although both remain contested categories), and how I will be using them in this analysis. Next, I explain the process I used for identifying the historical cases I review in this thesis. Colonial settlement is a constant project in US history, whereas intense populist revolts are sprinkled throughout this history. Because of this, my methodology included the examination of some of the most ardent periods of populist politics, aimed at noticing settler colonial logics being coarticulated in those moments. The heart of my analysis moves through the historical examples, identifying which logics are dominant, demonstrated through their historical intersection. In creating a conceptual apparatus consisting of five intertwined logics formed in this thesis, I hope to make a framework that could be applied to clarify further political moments.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Settler Colonial Definitions

Let us first define what is meant by settler colonialism. Settler colonialism is best understood as a socio-political structure and process, which displaces peoples, forms unequal socio-political relations, and, in racialized societies, results in a biopolitical entity of (in European settler states usually)

the white, Christian nation.[1] Displacement of Indigenous peoples combined with growth of exogenous settlements on colonized land distinguishes settler colonialism from other forms of colonialism. Scholars such as Lorenzo Veracini write about this distinction that in the "case of colonialism what is reproduced is a relationship, a fundamentally unequal one, while in the case of settler colonialism, what is reproduced is a biopolitical entity."[2] In settler states, the settler or exogenous community becomes the dominant and privileged social identity, such as European/White people in the United States, Canada, and Australia. These cases are distinct in their settlement strategy from other colonized states such as Algeria, Hong Kong, and India, which did indeed form an unequal relationship between the colonized and colonizing state, but not necessarily the same settler state presence. This difference is in part because the colonizing group does not remain there permanently as a settler community.

Kevin Bruyneel and Patrick Wolfe write that settler colonialism ought to be thought of as a "structure, not an event."[3] Specifically, "the key distinction here is between an event of colonial invasion in the past and a cultural and power structure that persists and shapes social, economic, and political relations to and in the present."[4] In other words, settler colonial ideology has become a part of continuous socio-political structures in settler states, and thus cannot be fully conceptualized as merely a singular event of migration and settlement in the distant past. The US continues to be a settler state into the present. Moreover, Rita Dhamoon argues that "settler colonialism is not only a structure but also a process, an activity for assigning political

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[1] Veracini, Lorenzo. 2015. *The Settler Colonial Present*. N.p.: Palgrave Macmillan.
[2] Veracini, 27.

[3] Bruyneel, Kevin. 2021. *Settler Memory: The Disavowal of Indigeneity and the Politics of Race in the United States*. N.p.: University of North Carolina Press.
[4] Bruyneel, 9.

meanings, and organizing material structures driven by forces of power."[5] A process-oriented strategy for understanding settler colonialism "emphasizes that the dispossession of lands is temporal and ongoing, dynamic and continuous."[6] In this sense, settler colonial dynamics continue to unfold in settler colonial societies, and this is partly unavoidable as the settler society has been built on a set of claims to lands that originally belonged to Indigenous peoples.

Further, Wolfe theorizes about what he calls 'positive' and 'negative' components to the settler logic of elimination, which underlies and justifies colonization. In the negative register, "it strives for the dissolution of native societies… [and] positively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base… settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event."[7] In essence, settler "governing logic is one of elimination rather than incorporation of indigenous peoples."[8] Removal or elimination of Native peoples is initially literal and corporeal, but also results in long-lasting psychological and social removal. Settler societies deliberately remember and forget the brutal elimination of Indigenous peoples and the conditions for the existence of the US settler state. Settler memory will be discussed further in the Dismissal section. Thus, the logic of elimination works to remove indigenous communities alongside the building of new settler communities rather than through settler assimilation.

In order to justify the elimination and brutality done to indigenous communities, a socio-political hierarchy must be erected to determine entitlements, and within such a hierarchy indigenous peoples are forced to occupy a degraded status. Settler colonialism utilizes interrelated systems of oppression, "including racism, white supremacy, hetero-patriarchy, and capitalism… because settler colonizers are Eurocentric and assume that European values with respect to ethnic, and therefore moral, superiority are inevitable and natural."[9] Also, the hegemonic component of settler colonialism "normalizes the continuous settler occupation, exploiting lands and resources to which indigenous peoples have genealogical relationships."[10] Curiously, the settler is "at the same time exogenous and indigenising, [and] the settler is simultaneously subjecting indigenous people and exogenous 'Others.'"[11] In terms of indigenous oppression the settler "does so because of his exogeneity – 'we are civilised, unlike indigenous peoples'"[12] Simultaneously, the settler subjects the 'Other,' "because of his putative indigeneity – 'we belong here, unlike recently arrived aliens'"[13] Traditions of occupancy entitlement are born through the "common sense" logic of settler colonialism, which prioritizes the settler in determining sovereignty, rights, and power.[14]

[5] Dhamoon, Rita. 2015. "A Feminist Approach to Decolonizing Anti-Racism: Rethinking Transnationalism, Intersectionality, and Settler Colonialism." *Feral Feminisms*, no. 4 (Summer). https://feralfeminisms.com/rita-dhamoon/.

[6] Bruyneel, 10.

[7] Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387-409. 10.1080/14623520601056240.

[8] Jacobs, Margaret D. 2009. *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West*

and Australia, 1880-1940. N.p.: University of Nebraska Press.

[9] Cox, Alicia. 2017. "Settler Colonialism." *Literary and Critical Theory*, (July). https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780190221911/obo-9780190221911-0029.xml

[10] Cox

[11] Veracini, 38.

[12] Veracini, 38.

[13] Veracini, 38.

[14] See Mark Rifkin's book *Settler Common Sense* for more on this concept.

Another key dimension of the subordinated status of indigenous humans and land rights during the colonial project was the concept of *terra nullius*- "the idea that settlers can justifiably take land because it belongs to no one – it is 'empty'."[15] Essentially, "the first European explorers arriving in North America faced the immediate dilemma of competing rights to land between themselves and existing indigenous populations." [16] Carol Pateman and Charles Mills describe how two senses of *terra nullius* were invoked by settlers in North America, the first claiming "that the lands were uncultivated wilderness, and thus were open to appropriation by virtue of… the right of husbandry, [and] that the inhabitants had no recognizable form of sovereign government."[17] However, the land wasn't perceived by settlers to be literally empty and inhabited, like in the Australian case, but rather there was perceived to be an ideological emptiness.[18]

Much of settler logic derives from the ways in which Europeans and their descendants conceived of land and property rights in the context of imperial expansion. In response to competing land claims, "over many centuries, European thinkers and jurists attempted to establish an understanding of what constituted legal possession, legal ownership, and a legitimate and just taking of land."[19] Much of the logical justification for the brutality of settlement originates in John Locke's political philosophy that "land before individual cultivation was merely public waste… [and] American Indians… had not taken the step of improving the land by their labor… and only with European settlement had the necessary steps been taken to appropriate the land for… productive value for society."[20] Many Americans to this day inherit this narrative that European settlers earned the right to the land because European land use was argued to be more productive than Indigenous peoples' land usage. Lockean political philosophy has to this day become normalized into settler colonial common sense.

Following Locke, in 1758 political theorist Emer de Vattel wrote about in *The Law of Nations* "that cultivation and ownership of land was critical to the purportedly natural laws of progress, and the future of the human species."[21] The result of this concept was that societies which practiced impermanence and living with, rather than on, the land were understood to be part of nature (therefore savage), unable to make a claim to sovereignty and incapable of economic development… [and] appropriating and transforming land into property was therefore justified as it turned a wasteland into a productive farm.[22]

Thus, a logical justification for the brutality of settlement was established, coded as an appropriation of land for productive use. Many of these same themes will continue to be relevant in the next section on populism, which is another socio-political structure and process that is deeply relevant to US politics throughout history.

Populism Definitions

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[15] Taylor, Lucy. 2021. "Four foundations of settler colonial theory: four insights from Argentina." *Settler Colonial Studies* 11 (3): 344-365. 10.1080/2201473X.2020.1845939.

[16] Frymer, Paul. "Building an American empire." In *Building an American Empire*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

[17] Pateman, Carole, Charles Mills. 2007. *Contract*

and Domination. N.p.: Wiley.

[18] For more on the logic of terra nullius in settler colonial societies, see Carole Pateman's work in *Contract and Domination*.

[19] Frymer, 37.

[20] Frymer, 41.

[21] Frymer, 41.

[22] Taylor

Scholars of populism have engaged in extensive debates over the defining criteria for populism. But, for the purposes of this investigation, populism can be understood as a political logic, through which citizens can make sense of their socio-political surroundings, and relatedly their perceived entitlements and collective complaints. Within this logic exists smaller inner-logics or secondary claims that help construct a populist vision of politics and society.

Cas Mudde argues that populism "considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and… that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people."[23] Essentially, Mudde claims that at its core populism engages in a fracturing of a political community into fundamentally oppositional groups, seen as competing for political representation. In a populist framework, only one side can prevail because shared power is seen as effectively compromised. In the case of radical-right populism, a third category of the disfavored or threatening 'Other' is formed, which often includes immigrants and racial and/or ethinic minorities.[24] This arises from a definition of 'the people' as "culturally homogenous,"[25] often embodying the nation's hegemonic culture. The populist makes a claim to represent a majority or common people of a nation, and seeks to execute politics in their favor. This group represented by the populist is considered to be 'the people' of a nation.

To address the difficulty of capturing the diversity in cases of populism across different political ideologies, Mudde categorizes populism as uniquely 'thin-centered,'[26] meaning that it depends upon a more substantive logic.[27] Populism alone "is not anything like a codified doctrine, but it is a set of distinct claims and has what one might call an inner logic."[28] Nor is populism merely a rhetorical tool that can fit any politician. Populism must include a combination of criteria, and not every politician is a populist.

The construction of 'the people' is also uniquely moralistic in populism. Mudde writes that populism is "moralistic rather than programmatic,"[29] or focuses on inclusion and exclusion (re: "the people") rather than political substance. Jan-Werner Müller concurs, writing that "the claim to exclusive representation is not an empirical one; it is always distinctly moral… [and] the populist logic also implies that whoever does not support populist parties might not be a proper part of the people- always defined as righteous and morally pure."[30] Specifically, "populism requires a pars pro toto argument and a claim to exclusive representation, understood in a moral, as opposed to empirical sense."[31] Ultimately, populists "may not win 100 percent of the vote, but they lay claim to 100 percent of the support of good, hardworking folks who have been exploited by the establishment."[32]

This characterization of populism as a specifically moralistic political framework is not to suggest that populist ideology is based

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[23] Mudde, Cas. 2004. "Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4 (September). ResearchGate. 543.

[24] Greven, Thomas. "The rise of right-wing populism in Europe and the United States." *A Comparative Perspective. Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Washington DC Office* (2016): 1-8.

[25] Greven, 1.

[26] Mudde, 544.

[27] Note that Mudde calls populism a "thin-centered"

ideology rather than using the term logic.

[28] Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What is Populism?* N.p.: Penguin Random House. 10.

[29] Mudde, 544.

[30] Müller, 3.

[31] Müller, 20.

[32] Friedman, Uri. 2017. "What is a Populist?" The Atlantic. https://www.theatlantic.com/ international/archive/2017/02/what-is-populist-trump/516525/.

solely on whims and illogical emotions of a group. Such a claim would simplify the complexity of populism. Rather, while populist ideology is rooted in moralism and emotion, that does not mean it is inherently illegitimate or unconvincing. As Müller notes, "it is not just patronizing to explain the entire [populist] phenomenon as an inarticulate political expression… it is also not really an explanation."[33]

Moreover, the idea of belonging to 'the people' of a nation is more consequential than merely a claim to political identity. To populists, "opponents are not just people with different priorities and values, they are evil!"[34] A necessary component of constructing 'the people' of a nation as morally righteous and pure is the creation of a foil, or opposite, which instantiates opposite characteristics within 'the other.' Conse-quently, political "compromise [becomes] impossible, as it 'corrupts' the purity"[35] and 'the people' and 'the other' become fundamentally incompatible and existentially threatening to each other. As Müller puts it, populists position "the pure, innocent, always hardworking people against a corrupt elite who do not really work (other than to further their self-interest) and… also against the very bottom of society (those who are framed as not really working and living like parasites off the work of others)."[36] Relatedly, "'the people' are also often characterized as "the 'common people'...the excluded, the downtrodden, and the forgotten)." [37] Thus, in constructing 'the people' of a nation, the perceived in-group becomes a "macro-subject,"[38] and is understood by the populist leader as a homogenous and morally pure

entity, which they assume the sole representative claim. A political holism develops, which is "the notion that the polity should no longer be split and the idea that it's possible for the people to be one and- all of them- to have one true representative."[39]

The context in which populist politics emerges is also a contentious subject for scholars. Minimally, populism argues from within a national politics that is dissatisfying and argued to be too remote from the bona fide political stakeholders. Populist politics claims to be "a potential corrective for a politics that has somehow become too distant from 'the people.'"[40] Some populism scholars come to agree with the populist's recognition of the shortcomings of the state, but may not support populist attempts to alleviate the issues. For example, Richard Hofstadter wrote in his famous text *The Age of Reform* that historically, "populism was the first modern political movement of practical importance in the United States to insist that the federal government has some responsibility for the common weal."[41]

Populist ideology attempts to challenge this existing establishment, which is often characterized as technocratic and ignorant to the real lives of citizens. According to populist critiques, there is a "long tradition [within liberalism] of a more 'elitist' conception of democracy [controlled by] … increasingly distant and technocratic political and economic elites."[42] Populists often argue that "liberal democracies are increasingly dominated by highly educated and liberal elites whose backgrounds and outlook differ fundamentally from those of the average citizen, a development that has been exacer-

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[33] Müller, 17.

[34] Mudde, 544.

[35] Mudde, 544.

[36] Müller, 23.

[37] Müller, 22.

[38] Müller, 20.

[39] Müller, 20.

[40] Müller, 8.

[41] Hofstadter, Richard. *The age of reform: From Bryan to FDR*. Vol. 95. Vintage, 1955. 61.

[42] Eatwell, Roger, and Matthew Goodwin. 2018. *National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy*. N.p.: Penguin Random House. 85.

bated by the rise of a new 'governance elite', connected through informal and formal networks that cut across elected national governments."[43] Journalist Thomas Frank coined this view of liberal democracies to be the "elitist theory of democracy" in which the politically disenfranchised are disenfranchised for a reason.[44] It is a conception of the state as a system that works to maintain "consensus quietly, harmoniously, and without too much interference from subaltern groups."[45]

Baked into the structure of the US government is a fear of majoritarian rule and an attempt to obstruct populist fervor. The very revolutionary origins of the US, wherein ordinary people fought for a democratic state against British colonialism demonstrates a populist zeal at the very core of US politics. Institutional checks and balances, the system of election for senators by state legislatures, and the Electoral College, for instance, were strategies written into the constitution itself to contain the potential majoritarian power of populist mobs. There is a foundational tension in US political life between competing liberal and republican governing structures and populist energies that are present from the origins of the nation. Cyclically over the decades, populist mobilization has had moments of great salience alongside periods of waning support, but it never fully disappears from US socio-political life.

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

In order to conceptualize the theoretical intersections of populism and settler colonialism, I have identified five major areas in which they are similar. These five intertwined logics are named categorization, subordination, dismissal, authorization, and defiance. By categorization, I mean the ways in which populist and settler colonial logics work to separate citizens into distinct groups. One group that results from this initial categorization is a subordinated group, which is denied entitlements to resources such as political rights and land. Another category that emerges is a dismissed group, which is often subordinated, but often in a veiled manner. The dismissed occupy an implicit and subterranean position compared to the other categories. In contrast, those who are authorized are positioned at the center of the logic. Populist and settler politics work to advocate for and serve the authorized group, sowing seeds of entitlement, which are reaped as socio-political privileges and advantages. Defiance is the final intertwined logic, which denotes the central principle of resistance existing in both settler colonial and populist politics. Both populism and settler colonialism as logics are born from defiance and conflict. The following subsections build upon each other to form a non-exhaustive theoretical framework, which will at the very end be demonstrated in a theoretical diagram, which depicts the logics' dynamic relationships to each other.

Categorization

Categorization is a definitional stage that is employed in both populist and settler colonial logics to differentiate groups of people and thereby allocate power and privilege. For the populist, 'the people' is the group that is constructed in opposition to the 'elite' or 'other.' Identification with 'the people' becomes a core political claim of social and political belonging. Essentially, three main groups or categories are established by populists, each of which assigns socio-political entitlement. 1) 'The people' are seen as the primary political stakeholders in the nation and entitled to full representation by the government. (Often 'the

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[43] Eatwell and Goodwin, 85.

[44] Frank, Thomas. *The people, no: A brief history of*

anti-populism. Metropolitan books, 2020. 17.

[45] Frank, 17.

people' are implicitly or explicitly defined as a subset of the populace; for instance, white American citizens.) Belonging to 2) 'the elite' or 3) 'Other' both occurs along existing social cleavages and identifies those who are undeserving of political power. Elite identities have tended to include people with high levels of education and specialized skills, career politicians, technocrats, bureaucrats, financiers, and sometimes the wealthy in general. Groups designated 'Other' have tended to include already marginalized peoples that do not gain the sympathies of 'the people,' and are often a target of populist scapegoating. The 'Other' also is argued to have received undeserving benefits from 'the elite,' which sows resentment in 'the people.'

It is not a coincidence that the tripartite populist categorization in the US has repeated other cleavages of social entitlement--namely, ascriptive identities based on race and gender. Take for instance the slogan 'Make America Great Again,' which is a type of refrain used by many populists (specified for their own nation) including the former president Donald Trump. The 'greatness' that is alluded to is always nostalgic; as in the 1950s post-war period of economic vitality that mostly benefited whites, and in tandem with harsh racialized and gendered marginalization. The slogan is nostalgic of a time before the 1960s and 1970s Civil Rights Movements and Second-Wave Feminism, which criticized socio-political structures of power and oppression. Trump himself thinks fondly of the post-war era, claiming that in that time, meaning "[they]were not pushed around, [they] were respected by everybody." [46] Right-wing populism in modern times is often a reaction by people with unmet sociopolitical entitlements. In the US, white

working class people's entitlement to economic and social dominance is not viewed as being met, sowing discontent with the political establishment.

Similarly, in settler colonial contexts, categories of race, gender, and nationality work to determine social, political, and economic entitlements to resources such as land and citizenship. A tripartite categorization occurs here as well, grouping people into indigenous peoples, settlers, and some 'Other.' Indigenous peoples consist of nations and communities native to the politically salient lands. Settlers are peoples from some exogenous lands predominantly Northwestern Europe, who settle in new lands (e.g. North America) and often self-identify with the racial category of whiteness. Settlers tend to consider themselves white and "civilized," and derive land and socio-political entitlements from whiteness and often maleness. Relative to the settler-native binary, the 'Other' consists of non-indigenous peoples designated as non-white and denied the privileges of whiteness. African peoples that were kidnapped and brutally enslaved in the Transatlantic Slave Trade to labor in the United States alongside non-white migrants without the protection of whiteness make up this 'Other' category. Again, the settler is both "exogenous and indigenizing" [47]--he comes from elsewhere but considers himself to belong in the "new" lands. [48]

A series of dualisms categorize indigenous people (amongst others) in opposition to European settlers in "couplings such as self-other, citizen-alien, sovereign subject(s)-dominated object(s), and civilized-savage" [49] Essentially, within settler colonial logic, "one can be defined as what the other

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[46] The New York Times. 2016. "Transcript: Donald Trump Expounds on His Foreign Policy Views (Published 2016)." The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/27/us/ politics/donald-trump-transcript.html.

[47] Veracini, 38.

[48] Veracini, 38.

[49] Bruyneel, Kevin. 2007. *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-indigenous Relations*. N.p.: University of Minnesota Press.

is not." [50] Thus, a triangular system of relationships is formed, where "a settler collective appropriates the indigenous right to welcome people to the country, [and] also simultaneously retains the right to un-welcome exogenous 'Others.'"[51] Settler colonialism thereby produces "hierarchies of Otherness (e.g. among gendered people of colour, among Indigenous people, and between people of colour and Indigenous peoples across the borders of the nation-state)." [52] Communities relegated to Otherness also importantly include Black and African Americans who were brutally forced to migrate to the Americas and structures of anti-black racism. The logic of settler migration is largely, as Veracini puts it, "dedicated to enable settlers and neutralize migrants."[53]

Populist and settler colonial logics did not form in a vacuum, but rather, were informed by the dominant and co-occurring social systems of the time. Indeed, the populist and settler colonial categories delineated above were formed using the already existing and co-constitutive social cleavages such as white supremacy, patriarchy, ableism, heterosexism, and more. Notions of what kinds of people are political agents--deserving of land, entitled to political representation, categorized as citizens, etc.--were informed by oppressive social structures wherein white, straight men were granted the most social, political, and economic entitlements. The formation of racialized hierarchy in the form of caste is vital here. Journalist and historian Isabel Wilkerson's book *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents* is a useful articulation of the kind of categorizing system(s) that were established in the early

years of the United States. She writes that "a human hierarchy had evolved on the contested soil of what would become the United States, a concept of birthright, the temptation of entitled expansion that would set in motion the world's first democracy, and with it, a ranking of human value and usage."[54]

Specifically, if settlers "were to convert [North American] wilderness and civilize it to their liking, they decided they would need to conquer, enslave, or remove the people already on it and transport those they deemed lesser beings to tame and work the land to extract the wealth that lay in the rich soil and shorelines."[55] In order to justify this project, a system of categorizing people would need to be erected to decide entitlement to land and political citizenship. From this "emerged a ladder of humanity, global in nature, as the upper-rung people would descend from Europe… [and] everyone else would rank in descending order on the basis of their proximity to those deemed most superior." [56] Thus, the US "developed a caste system, based upon what people looked like, an internalized ranking, unspoken, unnamed, unacknowledged… And though it may move in and out of consciousness, though it may flare and reassert itself in times of upheaval and recede in times of relative calm, it is an ever-present through-line in the country's operation."[57]

Rather than mere prejudice and hate for a different race, nationality, ethnicity, or religion, caste operates in an organizing fashion to construct what historian George Fredrickson phrases as "difference and power." [58] Racism and racialized caste "originates from a mindset that regards 'them' as different

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[50] Veracini, 38.

[51] Veracini, 38.

[52] Bruyneel, 10.

[53] Veracini, 5.

[54] Wilkerson, Isabel. 2020. *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents*. N.p.: Random House Publishing Group. 22.

[55] Wilkerson, 22.

[56] Wilkerson, 22.

[57] Wilkerson, 23.

[58] Fredrickson, George M. 2015. *Racism: A Short History*. N.p.: Princeton University Press. 9.

from 'us' in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable…[and] provides a motive or rationale for using our power advantage to treat the ethnoracial Other in ways that we would regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of our own group."[59] Essentially, racialized caste forms a system of categories that determine entitlement and power in various forms, and work to justify uses of power over a group due to an argued permanent deficiency.

Still, however, concepts of socio-political equality, democracy, etc. were also being formulated in the United States and Europe as newer forms of caste were employed in the "New World." Thus the logic of inequality is developed to resolve the dialectical tension between white supremacy and caste, on one hand, and, on the other, the emergent ideals of equality and democracy. This logic of inequality occurs when there are groups of people within the society who are so despised or disparaged that the upholders of the norms feel compelled to make them exceptions to the promise or realization of equality, they can be denied the prospect of equal status only if they allegedly possess some extraordinary deficiency that makes them less than fully human.[60]

This conceptualization of race maps on well to the logics of right-wing populism and settler colonialism, and in this way the logics are mirrored. Namely, concepts of race and civilizational hierarchy were central to the justifications for settler colonialism. Indigenous communities, because of their presumed racial and cultural differences to European settlers, were allocated a degraded status. The project of European settlement through both the positive and negative forces of colonialism was prioritized over indigenous claims to land and sovereignty, and the social construction of race was always intertwined with this. Bruyneel says it best, that "racialising practices seek to maintain population-specific modes of colonial domination through time."[61]

In settler colonial logics, categorization also occurs on the level of contested land, as settler states attempt to fragment and order settled land. Philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari theorized about the spatial and topographical relationship between states and indigenous communities. They write that "it is a vital concern of every State not only to vanquish nomadism but to control migrations and, more generally, to establish a zone of rights over an entire 'exterior,' over all of the flows traversing the ecumenon."[62] In other words, there is a significant state interest in the organization and categorization of physical spaces in order to limit the natural flow of people, animals, and other parts of the natural landscape. White settlers in North America established these 'zones of rights' in order to control and manage 'new' parcels of land and maintain an ordered and contained territory. Deviations from the rigid order developed through the settlement process were attempted to be reterritorialized and incorporated back into the social and physical territory.

However, through such management, "colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling, and interacting with the world.[63] Settlement was a "process of systematic fragmentation which can still

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[59] Fredrickson, 9.

[60] Fredrickson, 11-12.

[61] Bruyneel, 8.

[62] Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 1988.

[63] Smith, Linda T. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. N.p.: Bloomsbury Academic. 28.

be seen in the disciplinary carve-up of the indigenous world: bones, mummies, and skills to the museums."[64] The ordering of land and people was central to the entrenchment of socio-political categories in useful ways to colonists and devastating ways for Indigenous nations.

The Dawes Act also functioned as a state tool to break up and categorize parcels of land. The act was "passed in 1887 under President Grover Cleveland, [and] allowed the federal government to break up tribal lands… [by] dividing tribal lands into individual plots."[65] US citizenship was granted only to Indigenous people who "accepted the division of tribal lands… [and] [the] stripping over 90 million acres of tribal land from Native Americans."[66] The Dawes Act also worked to force and codify nuclear family structures onto Indigenous nations in order to qualify for land allotments. Virginia Scharff writes that privatized and "individual ownership [of land] was intended to transform Indians who lived under varied kin systems into male-headed, monogamous nuclear families."[67] Both in the physical dimension of land distribution and dispossession, and in the social dimension of families and identity, settler colonialism works to divide and categorize. This resulted in a 'disorder' and state of disarray for Indigenous nations in the process of applying an external and often unwelcome system of physical and social ordering. Deleuze and Guattari explain that states assert power through this process of territorialization both physically and socially.

Thus, categorization operates at the core of populist and settler politics to divide citizens for the purpose of disparate allocation of resources, privileges, and entitlements. Racial categories emerged concurrently with the beginning of the settler project, and continue to be a salient identity through which 'the people' assert their political entitlements. Again, this categorization is for the further purposes of subordination and domination, not as an end in itself. The following sections will explore the categories emerging from this process of division and grouping.

Subordination

Subordination is the next component of populist and settler colonial logics, whereby the process of categorization yields a marginalized group. The 'difference' part of Fredrickson's phrase "difference and power"[68] has already been articulated in the previous subsection, and the 'power' component will be unpacked in this section and the following ones. The previous section investigated the ways in which categories were erected to separate people, mainly on the basis of race, which inevitably leads to a subordinated caste. Similarly, patriarchal epistemology rolls into populism and settler colonialism as a background social structure through which the logics emerge. Having focused on racialized subordination in the previous section, this section will add the dimension of gender to the creation of a subordinated group in populist and settler politics.

In the history of the US, "whiteness as a marker of racial identity, like masculinity as a gender identity, has often been associated with power, dominance, and the marginal-

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[64] Smith, 28.

[65] US National Park Service. "The Dawes Act (US National Park Service)." 2021. National Park Service. https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/dawes-act.htm.

[66] National Park Service

[67] Scharff, Virginia. 1991. "Gender and Western History Is Anybody Home on the Range?" *Montana The*

Magazine of Western History 41, no. 2 (Spring): 62-65. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/4519383.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A55f376f4f04a327e96f7ba349f3486f5&ab_segments=&origin=&acceptTC=1.

[68] Fredrickson, 9.

ization…of others." [69] The intersections of race, gender, and other socialized identities are also sites of strategic privilege denial. Namely, whiteness and manhood have reinforced one another in U.S. society, usually through attempts by white males in power to deny that nonwhite males are true 'men,' and thereby to exclude them from the privileges, rights, and opportunities associated with manhood in American culture.[70]

In essence, a structure of racialized and gendered hierarchy was gradually formed contemporaneously with the formation of the United States as a nation. Through this process, an "ideological link between whiteness and male citizenship"[71] was established, which has permeated both populist and settler conceptualizations of citizenship and political rights. It is also significant that "in American culture, white masculinity was increasingly depicted as being on the defensive in the face of growing civil rights and multiculturalism."[72] In turn, "white men in U.S. culture began to cast themselves as victims of circumstances beyond their control, thus inhibiting a stereotypically nonmasculine, nonwhite position."[73] This victimization has been historically cyclical, emerging strongly in "periods of large-scale immigration and difficult economic situations"[74] where there was a strong desire to "preserve the perceived link between Americanness, manhood, and economic self-sufficiency." [75] The power

hierarchies of patriarchal order are intertwined with racial and settler colonial hierarchies.

Right populism, especially in the modern era, taps into gender and masculinity to embody the legitimate representation of 'the people.' Raewyn Connell coined the term 'hegemonic masculinity' "as an analytical instrument to identify… attitudes and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality, involving both men's domination over women and the power of some men over other (often minority groups of) men."[76] In the case of former President Donald Trump, "overt hypermasculinity was a defining feature of his candidacy in 2016, whether he was talking about his testosterone count or his penis size or shrugging off the infamous *Access Hollywood* tape, in which he talked about committing sexual assault as 'locker room talk.'"[77] Trump, like many populists, "[promotes] and [valorizes] the relationship between masculinity and politics." [78] The persona developed by many right populists endorses a hegemonic masculinity, as "there is an emphasis on action and the courage to take difficult decisions, which relies on anti-intellectualism and urgency and exemplified by the leader's virility, the use of simple and vulgar language, and, of course, the leader's charisma."[79] Trump has wielded his "unique-

[69] Carroll, Bret, ed. *American masculinities: A historical encyclopedia*. SAGE publications, 2003.

[70] Carroll

[71] Carroll

[72] Carroll

[73] Carroll

[74] Carroll

[75] Carroll

[76] Jewkes, Rachel, Robert Morrell, Jeff Hearn, Emma Lundqvist, David Blackbeard, Graham Lindegger, Michael Quayle, Yandisa Sikewyiya, and Lucas Gottzen. 2015. "Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions." NCBI.

https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4706037/.

[77] Kurtzleben, Danielle. 2020. "Trump Has Weaponized Masculinity As President. Here's Why It Matters." NPR.
https://www.npr.org/2020/10/28/928336749/ trump-has-weaponized-masculinity-as-president-heres-why-it-matters.

[78] Löffler, Marion, Russell Luyt, and Kathleen Starck. 2020. "Political masculinities and populism." *International Journal for Masculinity Studies* 15 (1). https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/18902138.2020.1721154.

[79] Löffler et al.

ly aggressive, tough-guy image"[80] purposely as a means of opposing the political establishment, which is argued by the populist to be illegitimately masculine. Political-correctness, intellectualism, and elitism are all argued establishment characteristics, which are then challenged by the populist through the portrayal of a "toughness-versus-cowardice attitude."[81]

In settler culture, masculinity functions as an analytic for dispersing rights and entitlements, especially to land. What scholars call settler masculinity, specifically, is a byproduct of categorization and subordination. Settler culture imagines settlement of the US to be a white entitlement to land, but especially for men. Locke and Vattel, when writing about the theoretical justifications for settlement, specifically have white European men in mind as the legitimate users of land. This is a certain vision of hegemonic masculinity, which is "the masculine ideal men in a particular society strive to meet,"[82] in opposition to subordinate and marginalized masculinities. Men of color have historically been relegated to subordinate masculinity, adding a layer of racialized oppression to masculinity[83] White settler men, striving to increase their proximity to the ideal hegemonic maculine identity, developed cultures of rugged independence and bootstrapping. There is also a persistently "violent role of white settler masculinity as a constitutive subject position in a settler context built through dispossession, enslavement and heteropatriarchy"[84]

Settler femininity and the role of white women in the settler project is also a byproduct of the creation of categories, with some group(s) always subordinated. Margaret Jacobs writes in *White Mother to a Dark Race* about the constitutive role of white women in the proliferation and advancement of the settler project. Namely, "white settler women actively serve in the reproduction of and gain security through white settler colonial heteropatriarchal rule that positions white settler masculinity as the norm of political subjectivity whose violent reach seemingly knows no legal, moral, and territorial bounds."[85] White settler women often helped run boarding schools in the US and Australia, which violently and forcefully took Native children from their homes to be raised in regional institutions. Because of this position in the settler project, white women, while subordinated because of their gender, leveraged power and dominance over Indigenous nations. Thus, in some ways we can say that settler masculinity subordinated all women, but the racialized dimension reveals an intensified layer of marginalization for Indigenous peoples beyond solely gender subordination.

Ultimately, 'the people' and settlers have become uniquely white and masculinized macrosubjects. Both populist sympathizers and settlers have come to know their citizenship and subsequent entitlements as connected to identities of whiteness and man-ness. In this regard, populism and settler colonialism both form subordinated and systematically disadvantaged groups from the process of categorization.

Dismissal

In this process of categorization, another group emerges, which is dismissed from the

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[80] Kurtzleben, Danielle. 2016. "Donald Trump And The Testosterone Takeover Of 2016." NPR. https://www.npr.org/2016/10/01/494249104/trump-and-the-testosterone-takeover-of-2016.

[81] Kurtzleben

[82] Basso, Matthew L. 2021. "Settler masculinity and labour: the post-pioneer era gender order and New

Zealand's Great Strike of 1913." *Settler Colonial Studies* 11, no. 2 (February): 173-196. 10.1080/2201473X.2021.1882823.

[83] Basso

[84] Bruyneel, 13.

[85] Bruyneel, 13.

forefront of political discourse. Again, this dismissal occurs in the context of co-articulating social systems of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, classism, ableism, etc. Kevin Bruyneel's concept of settler memory grapples with how Indigeneity is remembered and forgotten in popular American culture and politics. Bruyneel theorizes a complex dynamic between the presence and absence of Indigenous peoples in settler colonial mentalities, which especially contributes to the understanding of Indigenous erasure and invisibility. Settler memory "refers to the way in which a settler society habitually articulates collective awareness of Indigenous people's history and of settler violence and dispossession."[86] This settler memory concerns the "remembering and disavowing Indigenous political agency, colonialist dispossession and violence towards Indigenous people."[87] There is a constitutive disremembering and disavowal of colonial history, which works intentionally and insidiously to deny historical and ongoing Indigenous political agency. Indigenous peoples and their claims to sovereignty exist in what Bruyneel calls the third space: "a location unassimilable to the liberal democratic settler-state, and as such it problematizes the boundaries of colonial rule but does not seek to capture or erase these boundaries."[88] Note, however, that this is not a 'clean' dismissal, where Indigenous peoples are entirely missing from the US social consciousness. Rather, the remembrance and disavowal of Indigenous peoples by US society and politics is often strategic, as a mechanism of denial for social and political rights and agency, locating them in the third space.

One way that Indigenous peoples are dismissed occurs in popular anachronistic conceptualizations of Indigenous nations. In other words, Indigenous peoples' existence is relegated to the past and modern Native peoples are rendered virtually socio-politically invisible. Further, the concept that colonialism happened in the past and is not a current phenomenon is another disavowal. The phrase 'the colonial period' is used to describe the early decades of the United States, and the era of the Founding Fathers. Despite continual occupation of unceded lands in the US, the continuation of the colonial project is disavowed, as if settler colonialism only happened in the past. The dismissal of Indigenous presence is also a "constitutive absence,"[89] meaning that it is strategic and purposeful as a way of constituting settler concepts of entitlement and legitimacy. When Native peoples are relegated to the distant past, they no longer have social and political interests that need to be considered. Ultimately, "'anachronism' enables disavowal"[90] of modern Indigenous peoples and nations in space and time.

In terms of land rights, "settlers systematically disavow or deny the indigenous sovereignties they encounter, either by signing treaties they do not intend to honour, or by asserting different versions of the terra nullius doctrine."[91] Andrea Smith puts it well in their second pillar of white supremacy, genocide, that "indigenous peoples must disappear… in fact, they must always be disappearing, in order to allow non-indigenous peoples rightful claim over this land."[92] Thus, dismissal works purposefully to support the occupation of contested lands by settlers. Indigenous presence in

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[86] Bruyneel, 5.

[87] Bruyneel, 5.

[88] Bruyneel, 21.

[89] Bruyneel, 54.

[90] Veracini, 70.

[91] Veracini, 41.

[92] Smith, Andrea. 2006. "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy." Indiana Coalition Against Domestic Violence. https://icadvinc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/ heteropatriarchy-and-the-three-pillars-of-white-supremacy.pdf.

settler states like the US threatens and questions settler 'rightful claims' to that land. Like Smith argues, disappearance of Indigenous nations allows for the settler state to avoid the contradiction of sovereignty and political agency that exists after settler dispossession.

In connection to populist politics, the denial of land and sovereignty claims by Indigenous peoples and nations also underlies many of the populist political moments in US history. While often taken-for-granted, settler dispossession is a prerequisite condition for many populist uprisings that use populist politics to demand more land, which will be discussed in the following sections. Similarly to settler logics, populists disavow those categorized as the 'Other' in the process of resisting establishment politics. The 'Other' is positioned externally and apart from both the righteous 'people' and 'the elite.' Again, the 'Other' tends to consist of immigrants, citizens of color, and other marginalized groups that are neither included in 'the people' nor 'the elite.' It is a ghost category, and in some ways is a kind of 'third space,' as Bruyneel conceives of it. However, the symbolic 'Other' can also work to mobilize 'the people' in response to perceived grievances from the ways in which the 'elite' treat them. Perceived preferences by the state for immigrants and citizens of color ignite populist fervor as a way to reclaim perceived entitlements.

Therefore, in some ways Indigenous nations and the populist 'Other' straddle the subordinated and dismissed categories, depending on the direction of the settler and populist gazes. Trump's wall at the US-Mexico border is one example where the

'Other' is positioned at the forefront of the political conflict. Trump wishes to resist the perceived 'elite's' favoring of undocumented immigrants over naturalized US citizens, and what Trump has called a "flow of illegal immigrants and drugs over the border."[93] In this scenario, immigrants (especially immigrants of color) are at the forefront of the conflict that is identified by the populist leader, and 'the Other' is in the direct gaze of the populist. Other populist political stances, like the Trumpist rallying cry 'Drain the Swamp' positions the 'Other' on the outside of the conflict because it directly engages with perceived issues with the 'elite.' The 'Other' doesn't have much to do with the Clintonian elitist 'swamp'[94] in the first place, so they are positioned externally to that conflict. In this scenario, the populist sets its gaze more directly onto 'the elite.' In some sense, as well, dismissal of agency and rights is a process of subordination. What distinguishes subordination and dismissal in this framework, however, is the presence of a 'third space' or ghostly positionality that becomes possible in both settler colonial and populist politics. This subterranean positionality is a shared construct in both populist and settler logics that is distinct from a more overt subordination and oppression. The position of Indigenous nations and the populist 'Other' as the dismissed or subordinated category is situationally dependent.

Thus, dismissal is a complex category that emerges from the process of populist and settler categorization. I mean to say dismissal in two major regards: an absent group of Indigenous peoples and populist 'Others' from the US sociopolitical imaginary, and a dismissal or denial of political agency and rights, which is a mechanism of subordin-

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[93] Rodgers, Lucy, and Dominic Bailey. 2020. "Trump wall: How much has he actually built?" BBC. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46824649.

[94] Bierman, Noah. 2018. "Trump shifts meaning of 'Drain the Swamp' from ethics to anything he objects to." Los Angeles Times. https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-swamp-20180209-story.html.

ation. More detail will be added to this logic in the historical section.

Authorization

Authorization is the next intertwined logic that intersects populist and settler politics. Specifically, in the process of creating categories for the purpose of subordination and dismissal, a privileged group inevitably emerges. The project of categorization itself is for the purpose of identifying and isolating a group for disproportionate power over the other categories. White settler men in particular were authorized to have political representation, land, and social power.

Land is a very important way in which white settler men enfranchised themselves in vastly different ways than other groups were allowed to be. Both land policies influenced the US's racial formation and vice versa. Specifically, land "policies provided government officials an institutional mechanism for taking territory by manufacturing new racial demographics, a white 'tipping point' that eased the politics of declaring the land part of the American state."[95] In other words, whiteness was weaponized by the settler state as a part of the settler project of seizing land and exerting power over it. Legal mechanisms further solidified notions of whiteness and especially white legal entitlement in the settlement project. Namely, "during the 1841 debates over preemption… the Senate voted 37– 1 to add the word "white" to settlers so as to exclude persons of color… [and] multiple senators chimed in that citizenship was irrelevant to finding cultivators of the land."[96] Thus, white settler men (and their families) were systematically authorized by the US government in the settlement project.

Settlers were also continuously moving ahead of state boundaries and were retroactively authorized to do so. As Paul Frymer argues, the frontier was constantly being pushed beyond US state jurisdiction by white settlers, forcing the state to constantly work to catch up and territorialize past previous boundaries. Frymer cites multiple political conflicts that arose from the rapid and disorganized spread of settlers into unincorporated (and governed by existing) treaties.[97] In this way, white settlers were constantly being authorized (controversially so) as exceptions to codified legal boundaries because of their privileged legal status that excluded persons of color and Native peoples from legal settlement opportunities.

Further, suffrage was also a very important entitlement granted to white settler men that would not see *de jure* universalization for close to 200 years. Belonging to the voting populace grants great social and political power, as it grants all enfranchised influence on laws and policy. US citizens were marginalized on the basis of race, gender, and property ownership throughout much of US history, which meant that it is only a recent phenomenon that public policy became responsive to the public will. The very election of populist president Andrew Jackson in 1828, for instance, was conducted only through the voting of white Christian men with property. Property qualifications would not be eliminated from all states until 1856,[98] white women could not vote until the 19th Amendment was passed and ratified in 1920,[99] and the Voting Rights Act, which expanded voting rights for citizens of color, especially Black Americans, was not passed until 1965.[100] As a settler colonial state, the US has only over a long period of time and

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[95] Frymer, 11

[96] Frymer, 139

[97] Frymer, 35.

[98] Al Jazeera. 2020. "Who got the right to vote when?" Al Jazeera.

https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2016/us-elections-2016-who-can-vote/index.html.

[99] Al Jazeera

[100] Al Jazeera

through extensive resistance allowed for people outside of the settler archetype to gain political representation. Political representation for the archetypal settler has never been a question in US history; rather, rights have been fought for by people from subordinated categories to become equal to the authorized status of the settler.

In populist logics, 'the people' and the populist leadership are the authorized group, who assert primary political legitimacy for the nation. 'The people' are formed in response to a perceived grievance or disenfranchisement. Note, that in some sense, the anti-elitism and critical perspectives held by right populists has some veracity. Nevertheless, "white men in U.S. culture [have] cast themselves as victims," when in reality many receive disproportionate advantages above other marginalized identities. In some cases of populism, such as Trumpism, 'the people' mainly consist of citizens with many authorized identities. The majority of white Americans voted for Trump in the 2016 election, whereas 32% and 12% of Latine and Black voters respectively voted for Trump.[101] While the primary narrative of the populist is a claim of marginalization and lack of representation from the establishment government, this victimized narrative simultaneously comes from (in the Trumpian populism case) white voters with racialized systemic advantages.

Therefore, the authorized category appears out of the process of populist and settler categorization, as a group that is granted disproportionate social and political advantages such as land rights, voting, and perceived political legitimacy. The subordinated and dismissed categories are positioned in opposition to the enfranchisement of this group, which also manifests from existing and co-articulating social systems of power. White supremacy, heteropatriarchy, classism, ableism, and other systems of power inform which identities will be further subordinated in the settler and populist political logics, and which identities will be positioned as subordinate and dismissed.

Defiance

Defiance is the final intertwined logic to populism and settler colonialism, which describes the continuous presence of resistance at the core of each logic. The logic of defiance adds a dimension of voice and affect to the previous inner logics. This resistance can be seen both in 'the people's opposition to 'the elites' and also in the defiance of settlers against staying within established state boundaries and respecting the claims to sovereignty from Indigenous nations. Settler and populist logics are born out of their respective foundational conflicts, and develop through clash.

The scholarship of Deleuze and Guattari, who develop a number of concepts that explain systems of power and their inevitable resistance, helps illuminate the dynamic of defiance. Deleuze and Guattari theorize a concept that they call the "line of flight,"[102] which describes both physical and social departures from a system. Lines include people or concepts that can transgress boundaries of an established assemblage[103] in both literal and physical or abstract ways. For instance, a person who leaves a polis is a 'leakage' from the territory's system. They argue that "there is no social system that does not leak from all directions."[104] Assemblages consist of constellations of singularities, which are structured and contained within

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[101] Cineas, Fabiola, and Anna North. 2020. "Election results: White people make up the majority of Trump voters in 2020." Vox. https://www.vox.com/2020/11/7/21551364/white-trump-voters-2020.

[102] Deleuze and Guattari, 9.

[103] Deleuze and Guattari, 4.

[104] Deleuze and Guattari, 204.

boundaries. Nations in their physical and intangible senses, alongside societies and other social systems can be considered territories or assemblages. These assemblages always seek to territorialize, which is "where power apparatuses stabilize and encode planes of consistencies."[105] To territorialize or reterritorialize is to bring a line of flight back into the assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari argue that systems have a tendency to contain and organize their constitutive parts, including political states and societies. Deterritorialization, or the disruption of planes of consistencies through the escaping of a line of flight, maps onto the logic of defiance that characterizes settler and populist politics.

At the foundations of populist logic is a resistance against the 'elite' control of the state, and sometimes also against the 'Other,' with much less control. Without this foundational conflict, populism as we conceptualize it, cannot exist. There would be no reason to be a populist if the existing system was perceived to be representative of all. Populism, as a perceived defiance of the elitist liberal establishment, works as a line of flight that transgresses the establishment boundaries and seeks to reorder the assemblage in favor of 'the people.'

The fundamental defiance in settler politics is the continuous push of settlers beyond the existing boundaries of the state. Building on the previous mention of this phenomenon in the previous section, settlers held an authorized and privileged status that allowed for their persistent transgression of the boundaries of the state. Unincorporated territories in the US, which included treaty land with Indigenous nations, were constantly being broken by the growth of US colonial settlement. A disorganized and fast movement to settle (often brutally and illegally)

unincorporated lands concerned US political leaders who sought to "slowly, coherently, compactly, and securely move the nation into Indian territories and incorporate them as American states."[106] Settler lines of flight (people) were constantly moving beyond the boundaries and being legally reterritorialized, but in an expansion of the boundaries of the assemblage itself. Indigenous claims to sovereignty over this land, sometimes by legal treaty with the US government, were simultaneously defied by settlers moving beyond sanctioned borders. In fact, the very presence of settlers and growth of expansion despite the presence of Indigenous nations with strong claims to sovereignty, is a defiance in itself.

Thus, defiance is the last intertwined logic where populist and settler colonial logics intersect. The following historical sections will describe in more detail the specific circumstances of settler and populist resistance.

Theoretical Diagram

The following diagram represents the relationship between each previous intertwined logic and the larger sociopolitical systems that are also at play. The blue background represents the foundational structures of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, classism, ableism, etc, which are systems of power underlie the logics of populism and settler colonialism. Again, settler and populist logics did not form in a vacuum, but alongside other co-articulating structures of sociopolitical power. Much of the process of categorization occurs on already existing social dynamics of marginalization and disempowerment.

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[105] Fournier, Matt. 2014. "Lines of Flight." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (May).

https://read.dukeupress.edu/tsq/article/1/1-2/121/91705/Lines-of-Flight.
[106] Frymer, 35.

A white star emerges from this blue background, with the five points being the five intersecting logics that work to form populist and settler colonial logics. There are two stars to represent populist and settler logics, which form in the same shape, but are not entirely positioned the same, just as populism and settler colonialism are related, yet not identical. The nexus of each point is the center of this star, where populism and settler colonialism lie. Formed from the foundational background, and at the inter- section of each intertwined logic, we can come to understand populism and settler colonialism in their fullness.
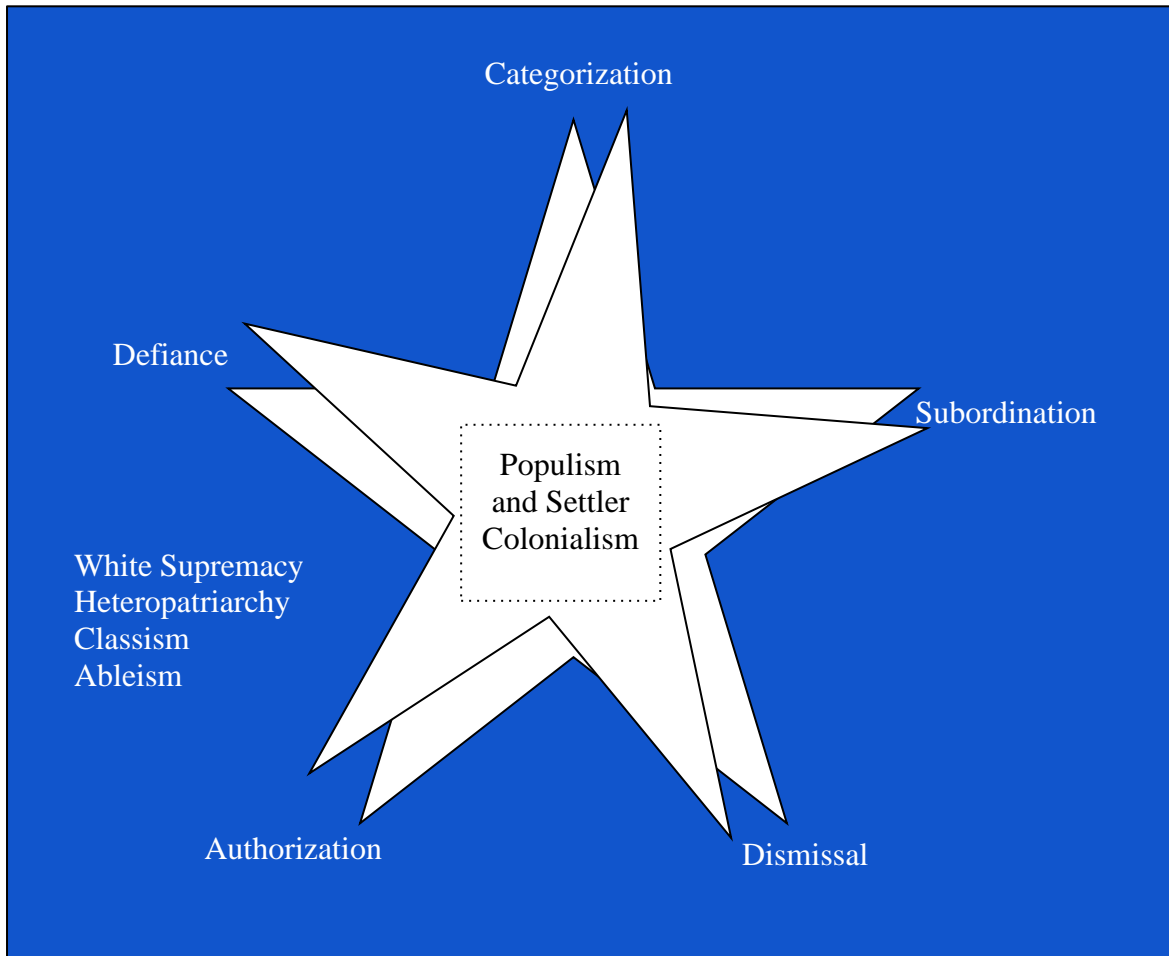
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

This section will explore the historical connections between populist and settler logics throughout US political history, applying the previously constructed framework. I will focus on four key moments of populist politics in the US and the underlying settler colonial foundations: The Shays' Rebellion, Andrew Jackson's presidency, The People's Party, and Donald Trump's presidency. Again, in my methodology, I have chosen four moments of intense populist politics because settler colonialism is a constant force, whereas populism advances and recedes (while never fully disappearing) in waves. In this exploration, the five intertwined logics will be applied to each moment in history to make the logical connections between populism and settler colonialism analytically visible. Namely, the ways in which both populism and settler colonialism work to categorize, subordinate, dismiss, authorize, and defy will be the basis of the remainder of this historical-theoretical analysis.

18th Century: Shays' Rebellion

The Shays' Rebellion was one of the first small-scale populist movements occurring in the early period of US history. Rebellion broke out in 1786, consisting of a series of attacks on governmental buildings and properties in Western Massachusetts. Farmers in the area, who were mostly Revolutionary War veterans, were protesting federal tax increases and the farmers' cumbersome debts to the government. [107] Rebellion leader, Daniel Shays, called these debts and taxes "Insupportable Burdens they now Labor under." [108] These 'Shaysites' "tried to rise up against what they considered to be an oppressive tax system and political corruption… [and] felt that eastern Massachusetts elites were ignoring issues that affected the lower classes."[109] Both of these rebellions were instances of working-class people mobilizing in defiance of the state and its distant and elite interests.

Working-class farmers in both of these insurrections felt as though the newly independent US was falling into some of the same tyranny that the Revolutionary War was fought for and by those same farmers. Daniel Shays wrote in a letter to General Benjamin Lincoln asking for "a general pardon [of debts] and return to their respective homes… which we in the late war purchased at so dear a rate, with the blood of our brethren and neighbors."[110] Shays' Rebellion exemplifies a pattern of populist outbursts in resistance to the federal government and ruling financial classes. In this pattern, there were flares of resistance, some readjustments, and an acceptance of a somewhat modified order.[111] The first constitutional convention was, in part, a response to the insurrection and an attempt to ameliorate the dissent through a strong and unified federal government. Thomas Jefferson wrote about Shays' Rebellion, that "the tree of liberty must be

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[107] "Shays' Rebellion - HISTORY." 2019. History.com. https://www.history.com/topics/early-us/shays-rebellion.

[108] Letter from Daniel Shays and Daniel Gray to Benjamin Lincoln, 25 January 1787 https://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?item_id=2504&pid=3

[109] Digital Public Library of America and Hillary Brady. n.d. "Shays' Rebellion | DPLA." Digital Public Library of America. Accessed March 10, 2022. https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/shays-rebellion/teaching-guide.

[110] Minot, George Richards, "The history of the insurrections, in Massachusetts, in the year MDCCLXXXVI : and the rebellion consequent thereon," Digital Public Library of America, http://dp.la/item/9e5962629f5e60ff7255e7e82e0ea638.

[111] Friedel, Frank. 1973. "The Old Populism and the New." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 85 (3): 78-90. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25080746?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

refreshed from time to time, with the blood of patriots and tyrants… [it] is its natural manure."[112] The participants of the Shays' Rebellion were punished for their resistance and were by no means fully supported or recognized by the elite federal establishment. In 1787, an act was passed in Massachusetts that disqualified rebels from their juries.[113]

In some ways Shays' Rebellion demonstrates a settler entitlement to land given their participation in the Revolutionary War. Many working-class farmers in this area felt they should be authorized with economic prosperity, but were aggrieved by enormous amounts of debt and tax increases that they had no say in. Underlying these populist arguments that Shays' Rebellion members made is an implicit claim to settlement, which is a part of the settler project. This populist rhetoric and mobilization surrounds the ability for white settler men to equally participate in the colonization and settlement of North America. In this regard, the settler project lays at the foundations of the populist Shays' Rebellion. It is taken-for-granted by the farmers' demand for economic prosperity and the ability to successfully settle in Massachusetts a dispossession of that land from Indigenous nations.

Therefore, in some ways, the rebel farmers in Massachusetts as 'the people' straddle the authorized, dismissed, and defiance logics. As mentioned above, the farmers felt entitled to the economic and land benefits of the settler project. As white male settlers, many rebels were seeking the authorized status that they felt entitled to both as 'the people' who fought in the Revolutionary War, and as the rightful settlers of their land. While the insurrections did push political leaders to begin writing the constitution, the political elite did not support the rebellions, and proposals for debt relief were rejected.[114] In this way, the rebels were somewhat dismissed by 'the elite,' as their claims were declined. Lastly, defiance is baked into this populist moment, as the rebellions were mobilized as resistance efforts against the stranglehold of the elite federal government's taxes. Both populist and settler logics are present in this moment, and investigating them in tandem allows us to understand the positionality of the Shaysites not only as populists, but also as settlers with attached settler incentives.

Early 19th Century: Jackson Presidency and Jacksonian Democracy

Andrew Jackson's presidency is another particularly interesting intersection of populist and settler colonial politics in US political history. A military hero of the War of 1812, Jackson ran his 1824 campaign as a "Man of the People."[115] The Jackson campaign painted his electoral rival, John Quincy Adams, who was the son of former President John Adams as an "out-of-touch elite."[116] Although Adams narrowly won the presidential election of 1824, Jackson ran again in 1828 and won by a landslide, becoming the United States' seventh president.[117] Notably, the slogan from Jackson's 1828 campaign

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[112] Thomas Jefferson on Shays' Rebellion https://www.commonlit.org/texts/ thomas-jefferson-on-shays-rebellion

[113] "An Act for preventing Persons serving as Jurors who in consequence of having been concerned in the present Rebellion, are by Law disqualified," Digital Public Library of America, http://dp.la/item/8189778e05b1575ba117f89c1b605f a4.

[114] "On this day, Shays' Rebellion starts in Massachusetts." 2021. National Constitution Center. https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-shays-rebellion-starts-in-massachusetts.

[115] Roos, Dave. 2019. "How Andrew Jackson Rode a Populist Wave into the White House - HISTORY." History.com. https://www.history.com/ news/andrew-jackson-populism.

[116] Roos

[117] Roos

was "Andrew Jackson and the will of the people." [118] Jackson's political style was known for its "rhetorical fire on the wicked designs of a privileged few against the peaceful happiness of the virtuous many."[119] As a populist, Jackson believed that he instantiated the political will of the virtuous 'people,' in conflict with establishment politics of 'the elite' or 'other.' Namely, he thought that "self-interest might erode the virtue of the elite, but the interests of the white male majority, whom he called "the great body of the people," were simply the common good itself, the essence of political virtue."[120]

Jackson's political base mostly consisted of "land-poor white rural people [who] saw Jackson as the man who would save them, making land available to them by ridding it of Indians."[121] He saw this white settler political base as the righteous "bone and sinew of the country." [122] Further, during this time, racialized notions of political entitlements also began to adopt a "conception of white equality resting on an impermeable color line now deemed natural." [123] Jacksonians, "whether urban workingmen, southern planters and yeomen, or frontier settlers, shared a political culture premised on racial essentialism." [124] In plain terms, Jacksonians rallied around shared identities of whiteness and Americanness and across location and class.

Jacksonian Democracy was born out of advocacy for this group and consisted of three key concepts: majoritarianism, 'equal rights,' and laissez faire economics. The majoritarian component of Jackson's politics refers to the notion that Jackson represented the majority of people considered political agents in the US. Essentially, Jackson claimed to advocate for the majority of white men (even when the population of white men was not the overall majority of people living in the US). Further, "Jacksonian equality did not apply to race or gender, but to special legal privileges such as corporate charters that granted advantages to some white Americans but not all." [125] Finally, laissez faire economics refers to Jackson's ironic belief that "social cleavages and inequities were fostered rather than ameliorated by governmental intervention, he embraced laissez-faire as the policy most conducive to economic equality and political liberty."[126]

Furthermore, Jackson's anti-elite policies focused mainly on bank charters, which provided some citizens with "special [privileges] like a protective tariff or transportation subsidy or a corporate charter of any kind… and created what Jackson called a 'monopoly' or 'aristocracy.'"[127] Jackson and his fellow Democrats also "[believed] that the fundamental problem… [was] the banking business itself, its privately issued paper money, and the complex of greedy, wealthy interests that profited from the system."[128] To prevent any sort of economic advantage some white men could have over other white men,

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[118] Roos

[119] Watson, Harry L. 2017. "Andrew Jackson's Populism." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 76 (3): 218-239. https://www.jstor.org/stable /26540290?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

[120] Watson, 224.

[121] Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. 2014. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. N.p.: Beacon Press

[122] Watson, 218.

[123] Lynn, Joshua A. 2019. *Preserving the White Man's Republic: Jacksonian Democracy, Race, and*

the Transformation of American Conservatism. N.p.: University of Virginia Press.

[124] Lynn, 29.

[125] Watson, 231.

[126] Feller, Daniel. n.d. "Andrew Jackson: Impact and Legacy." Miller Center. Accessed February 25, 2022. https://millercenter.org/president/jackson/impact-and-legacy.

[127] Watson, 231.

[128] Watson, 227

Jacksonians "proposed to limit strictly the power of government, especially over the economy, to deny anyone a legal advantage denied to everyone else."[129]

Moreover, Jackson's presidency was a clear historical example of where populist politics intersected meaningfully with the settler state project in the United States. It was through the mobilization of the will of 'the people' (implying white male citizens' will) that president Jackson's massive expansion of the settler state was made possible. Notably, the Indian Removal Act "was signed into law by President Andrew Jackson on May 28, 1830, authorizing the president to grant lands west of the Mississippi in exchange for Indian lands within existing state borders."[130] This act was found to be unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court, but was nevertheless executed by the Jackson Administration. Many mourned this act as the 'Trail of Tears,' where "more than 46,000 Native Americans were forced—sometimes by the U.S. military—to abandon their homes and relocate to "Indian Territory" that eventually became the state of Oklahoma… [and] more than 4,000 died on the journey—of disease, starvation, and exposure to extreme weather."[131]

This removal project was no coincidence, rather, "the imperial aspirations and geographic expansion of the United States over the long nineteenth century represent one of the nation's earliest and most foundational political projects."[132] Jackson himself "was

an actor who made possible the implementation of the imperialist project of the independent United States."[133] In Jackson's Second Inaugural Address, he gruesomely celebrated that "the tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites." [134] This "territorial popular sovereignty grew out of Jacksonian racial democracy… [and] white supremacy, the defense of slavery, and the ethnic cleansing of Native Americans ranked alongside the Bank War and mass politics in defining Jacksonian Democracy."[135]

Moreover, Jacksonian populism contributed to a larger narrative that would attempt to justify and negotiate democratic ideals with racialized brutality and dispossession. Specifically, the US government "moved populations in a manner that enabled the nation to simultaneously claim fidelity to democratic principles while maintaining racial hierarchies that promoted white supremacy." [136] This settlement project "incentivized movements and celebrated ideological commitments to property rights, cultivation, and individual enterprise." [137] The newly independent United States needed a unifying national narrative to rationalize settlement and racial hierarchy with the ideals of freedom and democracy. While "white supremacy had been the working rationalization for British theft of Indigenous lands and for European enslavement of Africans, the bid for independence by what became the United States of America was

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[129] Watson, 232.

[130] Drexler, Ken. 2019. "Research Guides: Indian Removal Act: Primary Documents in American History: Introduction." Library of Congress Research Guides. https://guides.loc.gov/indian-removal-act.

[131] National Geographic Soceity. 2020. "May 28, 1830 CE: Indian Removal Act." National Geographic Society. https://www.nationalgeographic.org/this-day/may28/indian-removal-act/.

[132] Frymer, 8.

[133] Dunbar-Ortiz, 115.

[134] Jackson, Andrew. 1865. "Andrew Jackson's Speech to Congress on Indian Removal." National Park Service. https://www.nps.gov/museum/tmc/manz/handouts/andrew_jackson_annual_message.pdf.

[135] Lynn, 29.

[136] Frymer, 12.

[137] Frymer, 12.

more problematic…. [because] democracy, equality, and equal rights do not fit well with dominance of one race by another, much less with genocide, settler colonialism, and empire." [138] The concept of Herrenvolk Democracy has a lot of explanatory value here for Jacksonian settler and populist politics. The term describes a 'master race democracy' through "oppressing one or more racial groups while promoting the idea of equality among the white oppressors." [139] Ultimately, Jackson forged a "populist democracy for full participation in the fruits of colonialism based on the opportunity to Anglo settlers."[140]

Three distinct groups in Jacksonian politics emerge. People in the US were categorized as either 'the people,' consisting of white men striving to own land, 'the elite,' which were bank charters and technocrats like John Quincy Adams, or 'the Other,' which left people of color, especially Indigenous and Black peoples external to the privileged groups. Notably, Indigenous people's claims to land in the US and often their existence entirely was dismissed and is a shadow story of Jacksonian populism. The subordinated group were more visible in that era's politics, yet were not granted the same social, legal, political, economic, etc. privileges as 'the people.' These reduced women and non-white immigrants who were denied many rights and entitlements, but held a clearer position in the US socio-political psyche. Authorization was granted to white settler men through social, political, economic, legal, etc. entitlements and advantages of land, voting, etc. Jackson's major

political project was to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their land for the occupation of landless white male settlers, and he clearly spoke to and reproduced these white settler land entitlements.

Furthermore, defiance can be seen in this moment both on the sides of 'the people' and Jackson as their champion, who worked to defend the 'common person' from the greed and abuse of elite institutions like banks, and also in terms of the defiance of Indigenous nations' natural and human rights in the campaign for their dispossession and brutal elimination. The defiance of 'the people' is also demonstrated by Jackson's choice to ignore the Supreme Court' ruling against the constitutionality of the Trail of Tears in Worcester v. Georgia (1832).[141] 'The people' through Jackson defied a whole branch of the US government in their populist settler project.

Thus, Jackson's presidency is a critical moment in both US settler colonial and populist history. The five intertwined logics map closely onto this moment, and open up a new plane of analysis for historians and political scientists to understand this era. Without a simultaneous conceptualization of the logics, the ways in which 'the people' as a populist political entity is weaponized in the project of settler colonialism is missing.

Late 19th-Early 20th Centuries: The People's Party

Established in 1892, The People's Party was the "first broad populist mobilization… in the United States," [142] initiated through sentiments that "the nation's two major

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[138] Dunbar-Ortiz, 103.

[139] Killian, Linda J. 2017. "Beware the Similarities Between Donald Trump and Andrew Jackson | Op-Ed." US News. https://www.usnews.com/opinion/op-ed/articles/2017-02-13/ beware-the-similarities-between-donald-trump-and-andrew-jackson.

[140] Dunbar-Ortiz, 107.

[141] Smentkowski, Brian P. 2022. "Worcester v. Georgia | History, Summary, & Significance." Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Worcester-v-Georgia.

[142] Lee, Frances E. 2019. "Populism and the American Party System: Opportunities and Constraints." *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 2 (September): 370 - 388. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592719002664.

parties [were] vast coalitions that ignored the economic interests of millions."[143] For many "Americans, the idea of 'the people' represented the very foundation of democratic politics,"[144] and "American farmers developed new methods that enabled them to try to regain a measure of control over their own lives."[145] Distinct from localized rebellions such as the Shays' Rebellion, and the leader-specific populism of the Jacksonian era, the People's Party was the first moment of large-scale and nation-wide gathering of populists in a political party.

Land ownership and rights were integral to the Populist Party's conception of identity and citizenship, as participants dreamed that "wage labor would only be temporary, until every man 'shall have accumulated enough to be an independent laborer on his own capital, on his own farm or in his own shop.'"[146] These land and property ownership concerns were negotiated through the lenses of populism and settler colonialism. The Populist Party in 1896 wrote in their official platform a list of demands for the government. Namely, they argued that "all lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for natural settlers only, and private land monopoly as well as alien ownership should be prohibited."[147] This statement demonstrates a way in which the populist politics of the People's Party was implicitly engaged in the settler land dispossession project. The self-identification to be 'natural settlers' is bound up in racialized and gendered entitlement to land in the US, and the use of the Government to do

the bidding of 'the people.' The mention of 'aliens' is significant as well, implicitly referring to people wanting to settle without privileged identities or in the People's Party's eyes, a legitimate claim to land. The party in this fight for land is both dispossessing railroads and corporations while also attempting to assert Native claims to that same land.

Further, the party demanded that "bona fide settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the National Homestead law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand."[148] It's notable that this text used the term 'bona fide,' which is characteristic of the ways in which populists view themselves as the true, genuine and legitimate socio-political stakeholders. There are also moralistic implications to calling oneself 'bona fide,' which maps on well with the moralism that is characteristic of populist logics. Further, this political stance is predicated on an advanced stage of the settler project, where indigenous communities have been entirely (albeit recently, in the Plains states) dispossessed of their land and forced to move to federal reservation lands. In broad terms, the Populist Party's populist politics were dependent on settler politics. As historian Margaret Jacobs puts it, the US's "founding and enduring narratives often obfuscate conquest and colonization and their attendant violence, instead portraying European settlers primarily as victims and resisters of another

[143] Goodwyn, Lawrence. 1978. *The Populist moment: a short history of the agrarian revolt in America*. N.p.: OUP USA.

[144] Goodwyn, 272.

[145] Goodwyn, xviii.

[146] Watson, Harry L. 2017. "Andrew Jackson's Populism." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 76 (3): 218-

239. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26540290?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

[147] The Populist Party. 1896. "The Populist Party Platform." Teaching American History. https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-populist-party-platform/.

[148] People's Party Platform 1896

kind of tyranny." [149] The "other kind of tyranny" would be the elitist and technocratic state that the populists abhorred. White Americans "began to conceive of themselves as victims, not the agents, of Old World colonialism."[150]

Moreover, this negotiation between the US federal government and the ambitions of the populist settlers is significant because it dismissed indigenous nations as stakeholders or agents for their own land. Frymer notes that in many instances, "Native Americans themselves lacked the freedom to negotiate their rights…and thus were thought to be in a position of temporary negotiators, not nations with fundamental rights." [151] Further, the People's Party was not dedicated to liberatory politics or expanding 'the people' beyond racialized categories. For example, Dunbar-Ortiz notes that "populist leaders were wary of courting the black vote for fear of appearing anti-white, the party focused on economic issues shared by the races, assuring white supporters that they were not implying equality… [and] some in the party were known to support Jim Crow laws and white supremacy."[152] Indigenous and Black Americans were (and continue to be) constituted the 'other' as oppositional to 'the people.' Populist logic had a vital purpose in justifying and reinforcing Euro-American empire projects. In part, this was because there was a psychological need to, as Dunbar-Ortiz puts it, "[reconcile] empire with liberty- based on the violent taking of Indigenous lands- into a usable myth… for the emergence of an enduring populist imperialism." [153] Brutal and destructive "wars of conquest and ethnic cleaning could be sold to 'the people'- indeed could be fought for by

the young men of those very people- by promising to expand economic opportunity, democracy, and freedom for all."[154] This is the key juncture of populist and settler politics in this period- that the concept of 'the people' could be leveraged as a pawn in the larger settler colonial land dispossession scheme. Ultimately, the Populist Party did not maintain a critical mass, and "began a rapid decline and was finished by 1908."[155]

Thus, the categorization of people at this moment was done in very similar ways to the Jacksonian moment. 'The people' were formed as the authorized group, who made claims to genuine political representation and contested Indigenous lands. Similarly, those disenfranchised continued to be people of color, immigrants, and women, who did not enjoy the same social, political, legal, nor economic rights. The dismissed group continued to be Indigenous peoples, whose land the People's Party were fighting railroads and the federal government to acquire. In this moment, the People's Party mobilized as a defiance of the majority parties, who were seen as too distanced from the needs of citizens, corporate economic schemes (such as railroads) and financial policies that were harming farmers and workers, and also a defiance of the existing land boundaries. The Party demanded railroad and reservation lands to be opened up for settlement. In this regard, settler logics of dispossession were leveraged by the People's Party to gain resources for 'the people.' Without applying a settler colonial lens to the history of the People's Party, the ways in which settlement and settler entitlement motivated 'the people' in their politics is obscured.

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[149] Jacobs, 4.

[150] Jacobs, 5.

[151] Frymer, 41.

[152] Lee

[153] Dunbar-Ortiz, 106.

[154] Dunbar-Ortiz, 106.

[155] The History Channel. 2018. "Populism in the United States: A Timeline." The History Channel. https://www.history.com/topics/us-politics/populism-united-states-timeline#section_3.

21st Century: Trump Presidency

Populist and settler colonial politics continue to be present in modern US history, especially in regards to the Trump Presidency. Many scholars consider Trump to be a right-wing populist, often embracing the legacy of US settler colonialism. Elected to the presidency in 2016, for many, Donald Trump embodies white settler masculinity in his representation of 'the people.' In his political rhetoric, Trump often characterizes the 'elite' establishment as being feminine and thereby not a legitimate representation of 'the people.' In opposing the 'elite,' Trump has developed a hyper-masculine persona in an attempt to reach the power associated with hegemonic masculinity.

Trump says to those whose privilege is threatened by modern feminism and anti-racism that he "[celebrates] you, and the other side hates you."[156] A black and white world is made through this kind of rhetoric, where one must choose to be hated and rejected or celebrated by the populist. As a corollary to this, Trump mocked political rival Joe Biden in the Covid-19 pandemic for his diligent mask wearing,[157] framing this as a sign of weakness and claiming that Biden "might as well carry a purse with that mask."[158] This kind of mindset is the replication of the toxically masculine binary of being legitimized as a "real man," or else excluded to Otherness. In a 2020 New York Times interview, when asked about mask-wearing, Trump claimed that he "'wore one' — a mask — 'in the back area… [because] [he] didn't want to give the press the pleasure of seeing it.'"[159] This implies that Trump's resistance against mask wearing is merely a performance of toughness, aimed to appeal to 'the people.' He didn't want to give the press material that would be seen by 'the people' as illegitimate to his masculinity and thereby reflect poorly on his political skill.

Trump's advice for his constituents that are fearful of the virus is to not "let it dominate you..don't be afraid of it."[160] Trump knows that his masculinity is being surveilled by a wide-spread masculinity ideology, and must uphold his social role to have access to his political one. The masculine are expected to dominate others, rather than to be dominated themselves. Trump can more easily gain his aforementioned exclusive right to represent "the people" if those contrasted to him are feminized and thereby devalued. For instance, Trump called political opponent, Marco Rubio, "Little Rubio"[161] as a way to demonstrate physical intimidation and strength. In general, Trumpian rhetoric works to, as Danielle Kurtzleben puts it, "belittle male opponents as weak, saying they are "cryin'" or "little" or "low-energy,"[162] whereas he often insults women's looks or casts them as hysterical."[163] Trump's rhetoric about his political rival, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, exemplifies this. At a rally in Cleveland, Ohio, Trump asked the crowd, "Does she look presidential, fellas? Give me a break."[164] In this process, the

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[156] Elsesser, Kim. 2020. "Trump Is Playing 'The Man Card' According To New Documentary." Forbes. https://www.forbes.com/sites/kimelsesser/2020/10/23/trump-is-playing-the-man-card-according-to-new-documentary/?sh=5646100c6ee9.

[157] Paybarah, Azi. 2020. "What Trump Has Said About Wearing Masks and Covid-19." The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-masks.html.

[158] Kurtzleben

[159] Paybarah

[160] Kurtzleben

[161] Elsesser

[162] Kurtzleben

[163] Kurtzleben

[164] Nguyen, Tina. 2016. "Trump Attacks Clinton for Coughing, Not Having a "Presidential Look."" Vanity Fair. https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/09/trump-clinton-presidential-look.

contrasting traits of the populist are minimized and disparaged. Exclusive claim to represent "the people" or "real men" is granted to people whose masculinity has been widely and socially validated.

In some regard, Trump is not unique in his display of toxic masculinity. Political scientist, Valerie Sperling, argues that many "political leaders across the world legitimize their rule by relying on masculinity." [165] However, it is no coincidence that many right populists around the globe also display this hegemonic masculinity as a political tool. Populists such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Turkey, Viktor Orbán in Hungary, and above all Vladimir Putin in Russia all display a similar masculine political persona. Even French right populist, Marine Le Pen, who is a woman, overtly claims an anti-feminist stance. Sociologist Mimi Schippers coined the term 'gender hegemony,' which describes "idealized features of masculinity and femininity [that] [are] complementary and hierarchical [and]provide a rationale for social relations." [166] While many politicians also weaponize gender, gender hegemony uniquely sits at the very core of right populism,[167] and works to include and exclude, subordinate and authorize.

Moreover, Trump's conception of 'the people' is also a distinctly racialized one. Infamously at a meeting with lawmakers regarding immigration policy in 2018, Trump horrifyingly "described El Salvador, Haiti and certain African nations as 'shithole countries.'"[168] He argued in this meeting that he would rather the US accept immigrants from places like Norway.[169] Further, Trump frequently attacked US congressional representatives Ocasio-Cortez, Pressley, Omar, and Tlaib, colloquially known as 'the squad,' telling them to "go back [to the] places from which they came."[170] The support of Trump and his overtly racist rhetoric appeals to a certain group of Americans to whom he and his politics speak to. When it comes down to it, "the viability of whiteness has depended on the maintenance of those cultural practice that reinforce it as a protected caste."[171] Thus, Trump's populist rhetoric is also exclusionary and subordinating on racial lines.

Trump's embrace of a racialized 'the people' simultaneously invokes white settler entitlement. Trump has in many ways become the 'New Old Hickory,' seeing himself as Andrew Jackson personified,[172] and has worked to invite a new era of Herrenvolk Democracy. The rallying slogan of 'MAGA' itself invokes a white resentment for the social progress that has taken place in the last 50 years or so. It is no coincidence that Trump's presidency arrives right after two terms of the US's first Black president, Barack Obama. As analyst Donald Pease framed it, Trump rallies restore a symbolic frontier site, "where his followers collectively participate in the fantasy of their regression to the primal scene of their white settler ancestors' acts of dispossession and re-

[165] Esanu, Mihaela. 2021. "Political Manhood: Weaponizing Masculinity During the COVID-19 Pandemic." Harvard Political Review. https://harvardpolitics.com/weaponizing-masculinity/.

[166] Esanu

[167] Esanu

[168] Gambino, Lauren. 2018. "Trump pans immigration proposal as bringing people from 'shithole countries.'" The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/11/ trump-pans-immigration-proposal-as-bringing-people-from-shithole-countries.

[169] Gambino

[170] St. Félix, Doreen. 2019. "Trump, the Squad, and the "Standard Definition" of Racism." The New Yorker. https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/trump-the-squad-and-the-standard-definition-of-racism.

[171] Anderson, Tonnia L. "Herrenvolk democracy: The rise of the alt-right in Trump's America." In *Critical Theory and the Humanities in the Age of the Alt-Right*, pp. 81-99. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.

[172] Killian

appropriation."[173] This fantasy is "a collective desire to overthrow, usurp, control… and re-settle the 3rd world colony to which Barack Obama had devolved the United States of America."[174] Building 'The Wall' on the Southern Border of the US and Mexico is just one manifestation of this re-settling project of Trumpian populism. The categorization of people in the modern US through Trumpian populism is eerily similar to the time of Jackson. It was no coincidence that Trump chose to hang a portrait of Andrew Jackson in the Oval Office during his presidency, as a role model and hero.[175] The division of peoples in the modern populist and settler colonial imagination falls along the same kinds of gendered and racialized lines that are present throughout US history. 'The people' continues to reference white men, with those subordinated being women and gender minorities, people of color, especially immigrants of color. These lines by which 'the people' are constructed and categorized, mirror many of the same divisions in settler logics, which privilege white Christian men.

Trump also uses settler colonial logics to defy political norms of politics and presidency, as they've been constructed by 'the political elite.' For instance, Trump pushes back against notions of political correctness when he calls political rival, US Senator Elizabeth Warren, "Pocahontas" in light of her earlier (and now corrected)[176] claims to Cherokee lineage. [177] Trump invokes a stereotype persona of Indigeneity, Pocahontas, to discredit Warren's political capabilities and position her outside of the entitlements of 'the people,' who identify strongly with whiteness. He both considers her to be a fake Native, while also denying her whiteness. In one Tweet, Trump made a disturbing joke about the Trail of Tears, saying to Warren "see you on the campaign TRAIL."[178] Baked into settler logic is a desentitization to the brutal reality of colonization and Indigenous genocide. Trump weaponizes this desensitization to make cruel jokes that position Warren both outside of whiteness and Indigeneity. [179]

Indigenous struggles for political sovereignty are located in the background of much of Trump's populist rhetoric. Trump's Rally at Mt. Rushmore in 2021 is one example of Indigenous nations and struggles serving as a useful backdrop behind Trump's populism. It was at this site that Trump spoke controversially about 'culture wars.' From a podium with a view of the vandalized sacred land of the Lakota Sioux, Trump spoke to his base and rallied against what he paradoxically called a "'new far-left fascism' seeking to wipe out the nation's values and

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[173] Pease, Donald E. 2020. "Donald Trump's Settler-Colonist State Fantasy." UCD Clinton Institute. https://www.ucdclinton.ie/commentary-content/can-illiberal-democracy-become-hegemonic-donald-trumps-settler-colonist-state-fantasy.

[174] Pease

[175] Katkov, Mark. 2021. "PHOTOS: President Biden's Redecorated Oval Office : President Biden Takes Office." NPR. https://www.npr.org/sections/president-biden-takes-office/2021/01/21/959223157/ photos-president-bidens-redecorated-oval-office.

[176] Cherokee leaders spoke out in denial of Senator Warren's claim. The Cherokee Nation Secretary of State Chuck Hoskin Jr. said that "using a DNA test to

lay claim to any connection to the Cherokee Nation or any tribal nation, even vaguely, is inappropriate and wrong."

[177] Chiacu, Doina. 2018. "Senator Warren, mocked by Trump as 'Pocahontas,' says DNA test backs her ancestry." Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-politics-warren/ senator-warren-mocked-by-trump-as-pocahontas-says-dna-test-backs-her-ancestry-idUSKCN1MP1I0.

[178] Mervosh, Sarah. 2019. "Trump Mocks Warren With Apparent Reference to Trail of Tears, Which Killed Thousands (Published 2019)." The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/10/us/trump-trail-of-tears.html.

[179] Chiacu

history."[180] Mount Rushmore is a site of traditionalist American pride, as a symbolic tribute to 'exceptional American leaders.' The brutal dispossession of the Lakota Sioux from the land now called Mount Rushmore and the ignorant defacing of this culturally significant land are the landscape behind which Trump calls his base to action against the political left.

Trump's policy agenda also demonstrated a clear antagonism towards Indigenous peoples and nations. Bruyneel cites the Trump administration's attempt to reverse century-old protections of and exemptions for Indgenous nations in regards to federal policies. Namely, many tribal leaders sought an exemption from penalties for not having health insurance under Obamacare.[181] Trump's administration argued that "tribes are a race rather than separate governments,"[182] dismissing the precedent for legal semi-sovereignty for federally recognized Indigenous nations. Some scholars have called this a form of "paper genocide," which could dismantal political sovereignty and through a falsehood that "Native America is a 'race' and not a diverse sum of distinct cultures and subcultures of sovereign Nations, tribes, and Peoples."[183] A central component of settler logic is the dismissal of Indigenous political sovereignty, which was done by the Trump presidency under the veil of the will of 'the people.'

Thus, the current moment of Trumpian populism is an important intersection of populist and settler colonial logics. Trump uses settler references, such as the portrait of Jackson, as a way to appeal to 'the people.' In his representation of 'the people,' he has also attempted to dismantle Indigenous legal exemptions and protection. Both logics compliment each other and can be used to justify, explain, and promote each other. Subordination occurs on gendered, racialized, and other marginalized identity lines. Authorization then occurs for 'the people,' who are, by no coincidence, the same privileged group in settler colonial logics: the settlers themselves. Indigenous peoples and nations straddle the dismissed and subordinated logics, with their political sovereignty questioned and offensive tropes employed by the Trump government. It is only when the settler and populist logics of the Trump administration are considered together, we are able to appreciate how they support each other in Trump's political agenda.

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

The historical connections of populist and settler colonial politics in the US, alongside key features that the ideologies share, reveal a foundational relationship between the logics. In each of the historical moments, the key intertwined logics of populism and settler colonialism are present and work hand-in-hand. Without a simultaneous investigation of populist and settler logics in the Shays' Rebellion, the ways in which the rebellion depended on both a sense of entitlement to political representation of regular working citizens and entitlements to prosperity in the settlement of Massachusetts would not be

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[180] Karni, Annie. 2020. "Trump Uses Mount Rushmore Speech to Deliver Divisive Culture War Message (Published 2020)." The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/03/us/politics/trump-coronavirus-mount-rushmore.html.

[181] Diamond, Dan. 2018. "Trump challenges Native Americans' historical standing - POLITICO." Politico. https://www.politico.com/story/2018/04/22/trump-native-americans-historical-standing-492794.

[182] Diamond

[183] Parker, Courtney. 2018. "'Paper Genocide': Trump's Political Maneuvers Could Rob Native America of Tribal Sovereignty, Culture, Health Care." Centre for Research on Globalization. https://www.globalresearch.ca/paper-genocide-trumps-political-maneuvers-could-rob-native-america-of-tribal-sovereignty-culture-health-care/5639945.

appreciated. Both of these logics created the discontents that incited the rebellion itself. Without a recognition that the Jackson presidency was not merely coincidentally both populist and settler colonial in nature, we miss out on understanding the ways in which Jackson's populism was made possible by settler colonialism and vice versa. Settler entitlements to land made Jackson a candidate that spoke to 'the people' desires and discontent. It was only through the veiled justification of acting for 'the people' that Jackson was able to pursue settler projects such as the Trail of Tears. 'The people' were also settlers.

Without a settler colonial approach to the history of the People's Party, the ways that the party's demands of the government continued and took for granted the brutal displacement of Indigenous peoples from the contested land are missing. And, without connecting Trump's populism and settler rhetoric, we could not appreciate the significance of his rally at Mount Rushmore as a site of populist fervor that emerged from a background of settler violence. The ways in which each logic supports and permits the other would be altogether lost. Thus, it is only when populism and settler colonialism are put into conversation in history and through their inner logics, that a full-bodied history of the US is possible. From this, I argue that future scholarship in the fields of settler colonialism and populism ought to be brought together. It is insufficient to continue separate scholarship and conceptualizations.

Populism and settler colonialism are also continuous features of US politics. Philosopher Jacques Ranciere wrote that "politics exists when the natural order of domination is interrupted by the institution of a part of those who have no part."[184] In other words,

"the whole basis of politics is the struggle between those who have no part in the management of the common and those who control it."[185] The very conflict and subsequent defiance at the heart of populist politics is present at the core of politics itself. This is not to say that all politics are populist, but rather, that the potential for resistance of power that characterizes populism is endemic to political life itself. Settlement also necessarily invites struggle and resistance, like that of populism, in the process of dispossession and elimination. Both populism and settler colonialism can be found continuously (although in different intensities or waves) throughout US political history because these logics function at the very foundations of US sociopolitical life. It is impossible to conceive of a United States as it currently exists, without a history of settlement, and without the struggle at the bedrock of politics and populism itself. Thus, they are foundational and continuous features that are unlikely to be eliminated in their entirety and are deserving of thorough scholarship that is informed of their interdependence.

The five intertwined logics then provide a place to begin further investigation of settler and populist logical intersections. These logics are by no means exhaustive, and demand more testing and applications to prove their rigor beyond the four populist moments that I have identified. I intend for this analysis to gesture towards further applications and evaluation of their explanatory value and limitations, through an analytic that combines populist and settler logics. Further, this analysis focuses on a few major moments in US history where settler and populist logics were immediately visible. There is limited space in this paper to account

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[184] Rancière, Jacques. 2015. *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. Edited by Steven Corcoran. Translated by Steven Corcoran. N.p.: Bloomsbury Academic.

[185] Negri, Antonio, and Michael Hardt. 2011. *Commonwealth*. N.p.: Harvard University Press.

systematically or holistically for intersections of these logics throughout the entire history of the US. While choosing a few key moments is logistically vital for this length of thesis, it still limits and narrows the analysis. Thus, this analysis is limited, and further research ought to expand the historical nuance and scope of this project.

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