

Age of Turmoil: Surging Nativist Populism and Its Possible Impact on Public Education

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Abstract

This examination emanates from the rise in nativist populism across the United States and Europe. Nativist populism is fueled by charismatic leaders who advocate isolationist, neoliberal policies that ostensibly aim to help the economic fortunes of those left behind by rapid globalization; however, these same policies could very well be creating even worse conditions for those individuals, their nations, and the world. One such condition is the state of public education, which plays an integral role in the creation and sustainment of social stability within nations and across the globe. This article explores the rise of nativist populism and the turmoil it creates, negatively affecting public education as well as the social stability of the United States and Europe.

By the time Donald Trump was elected U.S. president in November 2016, much of the world was already reeling from right-wing populist uprising. The June 2016 referendum in Great Britain to leave the European Union (“Brexit”) was fueled by nativist populism within the English Conservative Party; and although the nation is still in the European Union, at the time of writing the proposed move is having a negative impact on that nation’s economy (Eichengreen, 2016). In France, the National Front party led by Marine Le Pen continues to make inroads into that nation’s political power structure (Gow, 2015), while the hard-right parties in Germany (Alternative for Germany), Sweden (Sweden Democrats), and other European nations are gaining momentum. These movements appear to be pulling the fledgling global society toward increased parochialism and nationalism with their anti-immigration stances (Solana, 2016) (see also Appendix A). These could endanger systems of public education in the West as the rising right-wing fringes on the political spectrum wholeheartedly support privatization of the public good. This penchant for privatization may stem from the fear that anything public will be in support of the “other,” of people who are not members of the dominant race and culture in those nations’ societies—in short, people who do not look like they do (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2013; Kozol, 2006; Rucht & Teune, 2015). Whereas the established conservative parties in the West also support privatization schemes, it is this fear and exclusion of minorities that make nativist populist movements such a danger to the public good, including education policies.

Why Only Right-Wing Populists?

Populists can come from both ends of the political spectrum, but over the past several decades they have been overwhelmingly from the right (Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016). Bernie Sanders is an excellent example of a left-wing populist, one who energized young Americans in his effort to win the 2016 Democratic nomination for President.¹ The definition of populism that this article employs, however, is that of “a political philosophy supporting the rights and power of the people in their struggle against the privileged elite” (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/populism>). Sanders’s movement was driven by a philosophy that fit this definition; however, this article examines nativist populist movements, and Sanders is certainly not a nativist. The onslaught of populism throughout the United States and Europe is propelled by a nativism that has essentially become a rejection of globalization (Rucht & Teune, 2015). Ironically, globalization is the promotion of the free movement of goods and services across national boundaries (Castells, 1998), something supported by the established right-wing political parties and by right-wing populists. What separates right-wing populists from the right-wing establishment is their opposition to the free movement of people, both economic migrants and refugees, across national borders (Solana, 2016), and their support for the building of both figurative and literal walls to keep outsiders out. This rejection of free movement has caused them to be referred to as “illiberals” (Sierakowski, 2016).

A Brief History of Neoliberalism and the Rise of Modern Populism

It is important to examine the concept of neoliberalism in order to grasp the current nativist populist movement. Michael Apple (2004, 2006) describes neoliberalism as an ideology based on the belief that market forces should be the primary guide for both the economy and society. Moreover, interferences by other forces, such as government regulations, should be removed

¹ Although, unlike right-wing populists, he did not attract many poor people from the dominant culture.

whenever possible as these can and will impede the “perfect” market system. Apple (2004) insists that neoliberalism is the primary force behind school reform since at least the 1980s, when *A Nation at Risk* (The National Commission on Education Excellence, 1983) was published. It is neoliberalism, some believe (e.g., Chomsky, 2016; Reich, 2016) that brought us “The Gilded Age” of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during which the gap between rich and poor reached its apex in the history of the United States and the modern world. This gap was somewhat narrowed by an onslaught of federal regulations on large businesses, including progressive taxation. These regulations were eased by pro-business administrations that took control in the 1920s, leading to the 1929 U.S. stock market crash and the subsequent worldwide Great Depression (Reich, 2016). Following World War II, a sense of “freedom from tyranny” prevailed in the West (Hoffer, 2014), which led anti-social democratic cabals, such as Ayn Rand’s objectivists in the United States, to influence economic policies during the 1950s and the 1960s (Weiss, 2012). In Europe, Frederich von Hayak opposed the Keynesian economic policies of controlled capitalism famously implemented in Roosevelt’s New Deal. Von Hayak greatly influenced conservative policies for the next several decades up to this day (Styhre, 2014). Although this anti-regulatory laissez-faire ideology surfaced in the 1964 U.S. presidential race with the Republican nomination of Barry Goldwater, it did not really take off until Margaret Thatcher came to power in Great Britain in 1979 and Ronald Reagan began his U.S. presidency in 1981. This momentum continued through the Bush I, Clinton, Bush II, and Obama administrations (Styhre, 2014; Weiss, 2012).

Neoliberalism has affected U.S. public schools through the adoption of market approaches to school governance and other policies advocated in *A Nation at Risk* and subsequent publications and laws. For instance, Reagan attempted to institute school vouchers; Clinton supported school uniforms, national standards, and testing; and George W. Bush famously enacted No Child Left Behind, which spawned many neoliberal practices in P-12 education (Ravitch, 2013). Also Obama’s Race to the Top can be deemed a neoliberal policy in that it uses monetary incentives to entice states to adopt its test-driven agenda (Ravitch, 2013; Tienken & Orlich, 2014).

Modern populism dates back to at least the 19th century in Europe (e.g., pre-revolution Russia) as well as in the United States (e.g., William Jennings Bryan). On the surface, populism can appear beneficial to democracy (or at least, a natural byproduct of it) as it stirs public engagement; but it can and has been problematic in that charlatans or other wrong-headed individuals can lead the masses astray, against their own interests and those of the entire society (Rucht & Teune, 2015). It is a slippery slope from populism to nativism, which is a xenophobic belief defined by Merriam-Webster as “a policy of favoring native inhabitants over immigrants” (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nativism>). Nativist movements have historically come from the political right and have attempted to keep the power within the dominant culture and race (Chomsky, 2016; Sierakowski, 2016).

A notorious and horrid example of nativist populism is that of Adolph Hitler and his Nazi Party of the late 1920s and 1930s, which promised to “make Germany great again” (see James, 2012). At the same time, Benito Mussolini was attempting to create a 20th-century Roman Empire (<http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/benito-mussolini>), and Japanese Emperor Hirohito and his powerful generals were espousing militaristic imperialism, all of which led to World War II (<http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/hirohito>). Although very few would argue that current populists function at these levels of depravity, their nativist beliefs are similar to those of their infamous antecedents (Baker, 2016). Moreover, they are often led by

charismatic leaders such as Trump, Le Pen, Boris Johnson of Great Britain, and Jimmy Åkesson of Sweden.

Today, Europe is faced with mass immigration from war-torn and economically struggling nations. In 2015, Germany accepted over one million refugees, and tiny Sweden welcomed another 160,000 (World Bank, n.d.). This influx has led to nativist movements most noted being Brexit (Pisani-Ferry, 2016) and spilling over to the United States, where Trump has called for a 55-foot wall to be built along the 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico (Bump, 2016)

The anger into which today's nativist populists tap most likely stems from the growing inequality in Europe and the United States (Rucht & Teune, 2015), and this is most keen in the United States and Great Britain (Picketty & Goldhammer, 2014). In the United States, according to the Center for Equitable Growth, the top 0.1% of income earners averaged over \$6 million per year in 2014, whereas the bottom 90% averaged just over \$30,000 (see Appendix B). The picture is even more dismal if we examine wealth: in 2010, 35% of assets in the United States were held by the top 1%, and only 11% of wealth was held by the bottom 80% (see Appendix C). Employment in the paid labor force is becoming scarcer as "Uber labor" (that is, contract work with no long-term employment and benefits) has increased (Reich, 2016). With this, the social contract between business and labor has been broken. In the past, "what is good for General Motors is good for society" was the cliché dictating that governments should aid businesses first as they will, in turn, take care of their laborers and by extension the masses (Lauter, 2016). Globalization has been blamed for inequality, and nativist populists have pointed fingers both at a vaguely identified elite and at federal governments and their establishment politicians (Atkinson, 2016). Of course, technological change is another factor that causes poorly educated and low-skilled laborers to lose work and be cast out of the middle class; however, such transformation is not found in nativist populists' "lists of blame" (Chomsky, 2016; Lauter, 2016; Reich, 2016). Given these economic conditions, it should be no surprise that the main supporters of nativist populism are men from the dominant culture who have no college education (Sierakowski, 2016).

The Purpose of Schooling: Competing Views

One way the elites targeted by nativist populists are able to remain powerful is to ensure that the masses do not become truly educated (Apple, 2006; Friere, 2003; Giroux, 2014). By being "educated" many, especially critical theorists, mean being able not only to read and write, but also to intelligently and critically examine one's position in society as well as actively work to change one's lot in life (Apple, 2004; Freire, 2003; Giroux, 2014). A schooling system that does not include high cognitive learning (see Bloom, 1956) is one that may only replicate social inequalities whereby the elites continue to learn what is important to be successful in a "learning society," whereas others are relegated to low-level, low-paying employment (Handy, 1995; Reich, 2016; Wagner & Dintersmith, 2015) and powerless stations in societies (Bourdieu, 1998; Chomsky, 2016).

Education critics on the political left (e.g., Apple, 2006; Chomsky, 2000; Giroux, 2013) are quick to point out the seemingly dumbing down of schooling for marginalized populations (in what they believe to be a conscious or unconscious strategy by the elite to hoard power and keep the masses under control). In order to improve their economic status and social standing, and to truly have a participatory democracy as envisioned by Thomas Jefferson (as opposed to

the restrictive model championed by James Madison) (Goodlad, 2004; Rothstein, 2004), the masses must be taught to comprehend the power structures in their society, including their own place in it (Freire, 2003). Most important, the masses should be able to determine how to change their condition as well as the condition of those who are also marginalized (Giroux, 2013). To some degree, the Common Core initiative of the Obama administration supports such learning, but this is done, ostensibly, to create more skilled workers rather than informed and engaged citizens (Ravitch, 2013; Tienken & Orlich, 2013).

If the purpose of schooling is to simply provide the student with basic knowledge that can be learned through rote memorization and other low-level cognitive tasks, then schooling can be (and usually is) mechanized, employing a factory model that fits with the ideals of modernism and Tayloristic organization (Morgan, 1985). Taylorism was a model devised for economic efficiency that too often treated workers as cogs in a machine rather than human beings (Morgan, 1985; Reich, 2016). Businesses and other organizations designed this way could easily replace workers to perform routinized tasks that took little training and low levels of cognition; therefore, workers were expendable and, by the laws of the market, could be paid very little and could be easily controlled (Chomsky, 2000; Reich, 2016).

“Modern” ideological practices force curricula and instructional practices (see Slattery, 2006) into easily replicable formulae and logarithms (Zhao, 2009). Such practices use Taylorist strategies that may be inadequate to produce effective knowledge workers for the global economy and, more important, to ensure that societies have citizens who can thrive in a democratic world (Boboc & Nordgren, 2014; Goodlad, 2004). Postmodern schooling practices are those that are contextual and work at the individual level for the benefit of the many (Nordgren, 2015). Modern practices generalize the needs of learners and assume that everyone needs the same thing at the same time (Slattery, 2006). These practices fit the mindset of the “professionally-oriented new middle class who are committed to the ideology and techniques of accountability, measurement, and ‘management’” (Apple, 2004, p. 14). They too often support one common culture, one language, and social Darwinism (Apple 2004; 2006). These beliefs are the hallmarks of nativist populists who support the notions of hyper individualism in a vertical individualistic society where great gaps between rich and poor are readily accepted and even expected (see Triandis, 1995). A multicultural society built with the input of a variety of cultures that have differing and often competing values and beliefs challenges the white Christian cultures that support native populists throughout much of Europe and the United States (Apple, 2004, 2006; Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016).

With a focus on workforce skills over the education of the whole person (Wolk, 2011) social reproduction will continue to exacerbate an already unjust system (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2014). Furthermore, workforce skills are devised for the needs and desires of the employers, not the good of society (Apple, 2006; Giroux, 2014). In other words, this is a matter of privileging the private good over the public good. This has a long-term impact on society in that it creates a dumbed-down majority of the populace while the elites remain highly educated, thus reproducing the inequalities that already exist (Bourdieu, 1998; Chomsky, 2016). Alarming, all major school reform efforts of the past several decades have focused on improving the economy, not society (Ravitch, 2013; Sahlberg, 2011; Tienken & Orlich, 2013). This highlights a split in worldviews that is now coming to a head with the onslaught of nativist populism (Lauter, 2016). A small minority of people enjoy an elite education in which they learn the soft skills and high cognitive understandings of how the world works that will enable them to obtain and sustain elite positions in society, in addition to high-paying jobs (Handy, 1995). For

instance, it is not the curricula of the Ivy League universities that allow one to obtain an elite education; it is the intangibles that do this (Wagner & Dintersmith, 2015). The networking that is done at these schools and the great reach of alumni are what enables the graduates to be part of the powerful elite for the remainder of their lives and to pass this on to their children. Today, we have a multilevel system of college and universities with differing missions (both explicit and hidden). This system helps to reproduce the inequalities in society not only by offering an appropriate education to those coming from wealthy families (and a select few from the masses), but also by ensuring that the vast majority of the masses obtain a technical education through community colleges, vocational schools, and low- and mid-level public and private institutions (Chomsky, 2016; Rothstein, 2004).

How Modern Populism May Affect Public Education Systems

The public good was the focus of Bernie Sanders's 2016 presidential campaign, in which he championed more government intervention into the lives of citizens to ensure social justice and opposed any doctrine that would directly favor the elite (<https://berniesanders.com/issues/money-in-politics/>). Trump was in many ways diametrically opposed to Sanders, advocating a so-called trickle-down economy whereby tax breaks would be heaped upon the already wealthy in the belief that they would, in turn, infuse the economy with more money—therefore “trickling down” to the poor through the creation of more jobs (Reich, 2016). Sanders (and, to an extent, Hillary Clinton) rejected this pretense, believing that these tactics would only widen the chasm between the rich and poor (Girard, 2016), as proven by the results of the trickle-down policies employed by the Reagan, Bush I, and Bush II administrations (Picketty, 2014). By supporting wealthy individuals' needs and desires through a reduction in taxes and government regulation, Trump favors the private good over the public good. This fits his persona as an elitist businessman/entrepreneur, one born into wealth and power and educated in elite schools and universities (Kranish & Fisher, 2016). Like any effective populist, however, he has a large number of supporters in the masses who believe that he will help *them*, not himself or those in his social class (Dreher, 2015).

Modern nativist populists have shown a disdain for the experts, whom they and their followers deem to be responsible for the weak economic positions in which many find themselves (Pisani-Ferry, 2016). When experts and the science that supports them are dismissed, a void in certainty is created, a vacuum that can be filled by paranoia that can be easily manipulated by nativist populists. They sway their followers by feeding into their fears, which are often created by an ignorance of facts (Solana, 2016). Education is dependent upon empirical data collected through the scientific method; the opposite to scientifically derived facts is propaganda, the main tool of the modern populist (Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016). The type of education that should be the goal of all school educators is one that fosters critical analysis (Wolk, 2011; Zhao, 2009). An educated mass of people could easily see through the nativist populists' rhetoric to understand the fallacies of their message, their bending and re-creating of truth. By feeding upon fears, the nativist populist can control the masses who are not educated to distinguish truth from propaganda (Rucht & Teune, 2015).

If education is to be the path to a better life, then it should be supported as such (Ravitch, 2013). Populists who incite the masses but are only perpetuating an unequal system will not support a public education that allows for the masses to better their lots in life; they will instead advocate the privatization of schooling (Chomsky, 2000; Giroux, 2013; Ravitch 2013). They

point to the government as the culprit rather than identifying the true culprit—that is, the elites and the system they created to sustain their power (Apple, 2006; Chomsky, 2016). Public education without a social justice stance is one in which the masses are taught to merely respect authority and to follow orders. Those in well-funded suburban schools with a large local tax base (and, of course, their own share of wealthy private schools²) are educated to think critically and to lead the masses toward changing the system so that it offers justice for all (Giroux, 2013; Kozol, 2006). In poorly funded public schools, economic efficiency takes priority over democratic ideals (Chomsky, 2000); the organizational structures and processes are those of the factory, inspired by a Fordist model of management that relies on a compliant and obedient worker (Morgan, 2006). Focusing on the basics and basing assessment on what can be easily taught (and assessed) without regard to high-cognitive learning such as critical thought genuinely becomes the “value added” for these schools (Zhao, 2009). This “value”, ironically, lacks value. It does very little to add to the learner’s ability to fully engage in a democracy (Apple, 2006; Giroux, 2013) or, for that matter, the global economy (Wolk, 2011; Zhao, 2009)

In describing the rise of charismatic populist demagogues in Europe, Slawomir Sierakowski (2016) addresses what is happening to schooling in nations under the influence of populism: “The education system is being turned into a vehicle for fostering identification with a glorious and tragic past.” So one can logically expect populists to promote nationalism over critical thinking, compliance over dissent, and dogma over science in the schools. This stance, of course, runs contrary to what democracies need in their citizens: thinking individuals who can discern fact from fiction, truth from ideology (Chomsky, 2000; Goodlad, 2004). Sierakowski (2016) also warns of a decrease in funding for the public good under these illiberals: “Only cultural enterprises that praise the nation should receive public funding,” he warns.³ By controlling funding for public projects, including but not limited to education, illiberals can ensure that their ideology and, therefore, their systems of control will be sustained into the future (Sierakowski, 2016).

Apple (2004) asserts that the neoliberal takeover of public education in the United States has led to a push for one common culture, one language, and acculturation into the dominant white Anglo-Saxon culture. Multiculturalism threatens white Christian ideals and values; therefore, Apple and others (Chomsky, 2000; Giroux, 2013) argue that a common culture and language are one of the main objectives of right-wing education policies. Although moderate compared to the agenda of nativist populists, the U.S. Republican Party’s education platform includes the following key points (author’s comments in brackets):

- Promotion of English First [as opposed to education in a child’s native language];
- Alternative interpretation of Title IX and other “cultural” regulations [these, they assert, allow “bureaucrats—and the current President of the United States—to impose a social and cultural revolution upon the American people by wrongly redefining sex discrimination to include sexual orientation or other categories. Their agenda has nothing to do with individual rights; it has everything to do with power. They are determined to reshape our schools—and our entire society—to fit the mold of an ideology alien to America’s history and traditions”];

² Lubienski & Lubienski (2013) note that not all private schools are equal. Some are the best performing schools in the nation whereas others are the worst.

³ The author visited a grant writer at the U.S. Department of Education during the Bush II administration. He was told that in order to have a reasonable chance at receiving a grant from the department, he must partner with a religious organization. He was told, “That’s just the way it is in this political climate.”

- Support of Christian values [in their words, “A good understanding of the Bible being indispensable for the development of an educated citizenry, we encourage state legislatures to offer Bible in a literature curriculum as an elective in America’s high schools”];
- Disempowering of teachers [by promoting an alternative to teachers educated in accredited university programs by urging “school districts to make use of teaching talent in the business community, STEM fields, and the military.... Rigid tenure systems should be replaced with merit-based approach in order to attract the best talent to the classroom” (Republican Platform 2016, pp. 34–35)].

This platform fits nicely into the nativist populists’ aim of promoting a monoculture intolerant of other values and views (Sierakowski, 2016). The education platform was accepted by the Republican nominee (Trump) and, if implemented, will further populism, nationalism, and nativism in the United States. Furthermore, this could embolden nativist populists across the world, deepening divisions between nations and their various cultures and increasing the possibilities of internal as well as global conflict (Solana, 2016). Wars, for the most part, are fought by those who are disempowered to increase the power of the elite (Moberg, 2005; Zinn, 1999). Without citizenries that can think for themselves, critically analyze power structures, and remain tolerant of differences while working toward the public good, the world may be doomed to a constant turmoil instigated by the elites to ensure their own power base (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2013). Without public education systems led by a professional teaching force and policies that promote tolerance of differing views, languages, and cultures, nations may be duped by nativist populists who are only concerned with their own interests: mainly obtaining and sustaining power (Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016).

A Widespread Concern

Nativist populist movements in the United States and across Europe share certain characteristics, such as an anti-immigration stance, anti-globalization/country-first demands, and support by undereducated native populations who have been marginalized by the neoliberalization of their economies (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2014; Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016). Following huge immigration flows and a great increase in the number of refugees pouring into Europe, many nativist populists have risen to power, leading political movements that are gaining influence. In Austria, the support of the populist Freedom Party is at 35% as of 2016 (see Appendix A). This party advocates more privatization of government entities (Schweiger, 2015), which may decimate public schools whose mission is to educate all comers (Kozol, 2006; Ravitch, 2013). Similarly, the People’s Party of Switzerland garners 29% of national support in 2016 and also favors an increase in privatization (Rechsteiner, Rieger, & Ambrosetti, 2014).

Great Britain’s Conservative Party is moderate but, like the Republican Party in the United States, it must pander to the hard-right nativists within its ranks in a quest for a voting majority (Chomsky, 2016). The party’s former leader, Boris Johnson, was the key figure in the Brexit vote amidst cries of limiting or stopping immigration, especially that of Muslims (McShane, 2016). The Conservative Party education platform calls for increasing the number of charter schools and dismantling failing (“coasting”) schools only to privatize them (Conservative Party of Great Britain, 2015).

Marine Le Pen is a rising populist figure from the political right who is president of the anti-immigrant, nativist National Front party in France. She is the daughter of Jean-Marie Le

Pen, who led the party for many years. In 2015, the National Front gained over 27% support in regional elections, the highest in the party's 44-year history (Gow, 2015). The party has little focus on educational policies, however, as is made evident by the paucity of education information on its website (<http://www.frontnational.com/>). Instead, the party's platform focuses on economic austerity and anti-immigration measures. With its dual anti-globalization and nationalistic focus, this party may be the closest equivalent to Trumpism outside of the United States (Astier, 2014).

The final populist movement this article examines is in Germany,⁴ where the Alternative for Germany party represents those seeking right-wing policy reforms. Although the party has little support (less than 5%),⁵ it is important to include it in this discussion as Germany takes in more refugees than any other country in the West (United Nations Refugee Agency, 2016)—though not as many per capita as Sweden (Government Offices of Sweden, n.d.). The Alternative for Germany party is strongly anti-immigrant, but it also supports more privatization of government and a laser-like focus on the individual and on the private good over the public good (Meyer & Storck, 2015).

In summary, the right-wing nativist populist movements in the United States and Europe have similar education stances, mainly in their promotion of an increasing privatization of the public good.⁶ The nativist populists' shared interest in country-first policies and in limiting globalization as well as immigration could have a great impact on the public schooling systems in the United States and across Europe. These policies could segregate populations via privatization schemes such as the promotion of charter schools, thus tearing the fabric of society, to paraphrase Jon Kozol (2006).

Conclusion

The rise of right-wing nativist populism, often led by charismatic leaders such as Trump and Le Pen, threatens to create a world of walled-off nations filled with intolerant citizens living in fear of the "other" (Apple, 2004, 2006; Atkinson, 2016). Its isolationist policies could exacerbate the fear of minorities both inside and outside the national borders, intensifying internal and external conflicts among races, religions, cultures, and nations (Castells, 1998; Chomsky, 2016; Rucht & Teune, 2015). The nativist populists' hyper-right-wing, anti-government stances could further erode public schools through privatization schemes that have been found to promote segregation (Giroux, 2014; Kozol, 2006; Ravitch, 2013), and they could also aggravate tensions among these nations' citizens. As such, these movements can negatively affect the social stability of individual nations and the entire globe, adding great turmoil to a world already apprehensive due to pervasive, increased conflict.

⁴ **[**It is unclear why you are talking about Sweden here, since the footnote refers to Germany. Please insert a sentence to introduce this argument**]** The Sweden Democrats received 13% support in the 2014 national elections, up from under 5% in 2010. The party is led by a charismatic populist, Jimmie Åkesson, who is rabidly opposed to immigration. The party's education platform is quite similar to that of U.S. Republicans, in that it supports a greater emphasis on the Swedish language and more control over teacher quality. True to the liberal Swedish political culture, however, the party is also against charter schools (https://sd.se/wpcontent/uploads/2013/08/inriktningsprogram_skolan.pdf), which were instituted 20 years ago and have become a great source of national debate (see Wiborg, 2010).

⁵ Germany is also home to Pegida (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West), which has been responsible for great unrest in various parts of the nation and for stirring up great anti-immigrant hysteria (Decker, 2015).

⁶ The lone exception may be Sweden, where the Democrats are skeptical of the disastrous experiment with privately operated charter schools (Wiborg, 2014).

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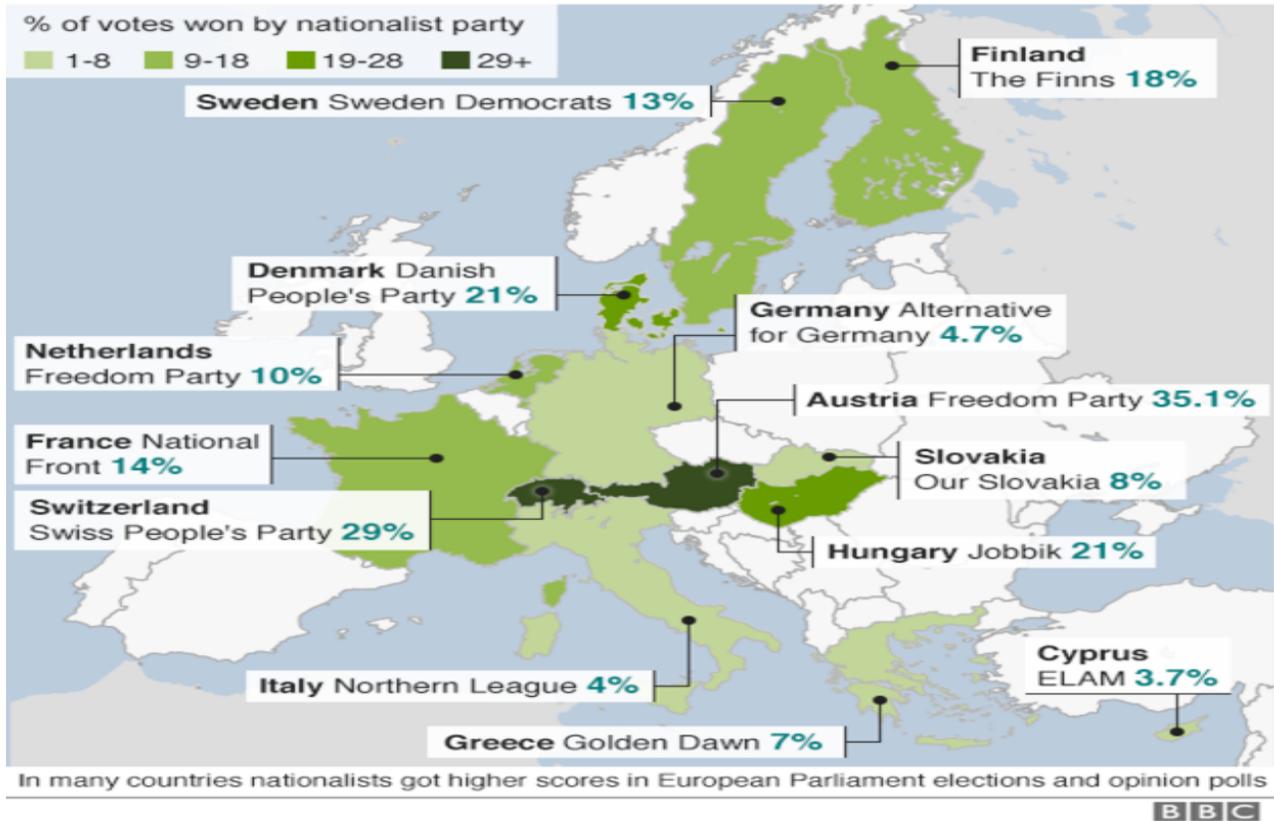
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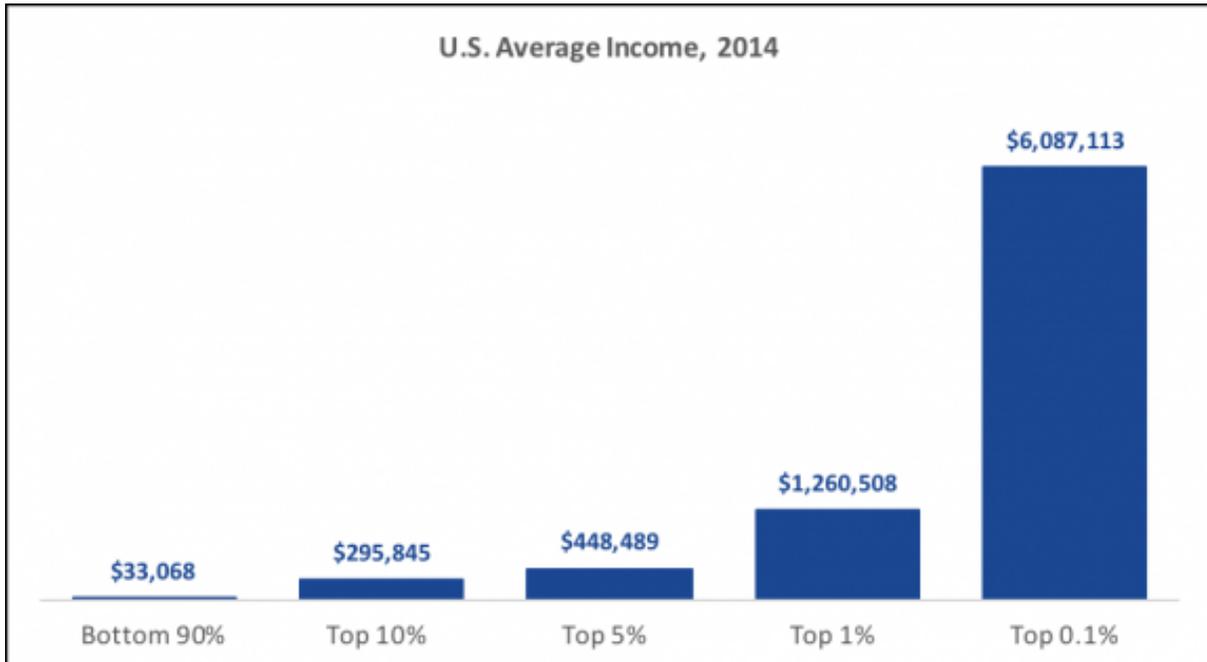
Appendix A

Rise of Nationalism in Europe: Results of Most Recent National Elections (2016)



Source: BBC News (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006>)

Appendix B



Source: Emmanuel Saez, [Center for Equitable Growth](http://inequality.org/inequality-data-statistics/), June 2015 (<http://inequality.org/inequality-data-statistics/>)

Appendix C

Income, Net Worth, and Financial Worth in the U.S. by Percentile, in 2010 Dollars

Wealth or income class	Mean household income	Mean household net worth	Mean household financial (non-home) wealth
Top 1 percent	\$1,318,200	\$16,439,400	\$15,171,600
Top 20 percent	\$226,200	\$2,061,600	\$1,719,800
60th-80th percentile	\$72,000	\$216,900	\$100,700
40th-60th percentile	\$41,700	\$61,000	\$12,200
Bottom 40 percent	\$17,300	-\$10,600	-\$14,800

Note: only mean figures are available, not medians. Note that income and wealth are separate measures; for example, the top 1% of income earners is not exactly the same group of people as the top 1% of wealth holders, although there is considerable overlap. Source: <http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html>.