

Spring 2019  
Barrow 402  
Tuesday 12-2pm

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**SOC 280C**  
**POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

This course will explore the changing relations between politics, society, violence, domination, and the state. We will start with classical texts of sociology and map out the contending perspectives on the roots of political dynamics. Throughout the course, we will study the Marxist tradition (and its focus on conflict-driven group formation) and the Weberian tradition (and its focus on state-making). We will also systematically engage the Nietzschean tradition (as a call for the disintegration of both perspectives and a focus on rhizomic power) and possible syntheses of two or three of the above (such as Gramscian and Bourdieusian perspectives).

The exploration of these perspectives will be interwoven with the study of the following topical and empirical questions:

1) What is the role of politics in producing and sustaining social order, domination, and change? 2) What is the state's relation to classes, ideology and culture? How do cultural categories shape the formation of the state? 3) How do we draw the line between society and state? How does this differentiation develop historically? Where are institutions like political parties located in this differentiation? 4) How do non-state actors engage in politics? What relations do they seek with the state? What are the roles of culture and class in this engagement? 5) What is the role of politics in supposedly universal trends such as rationalization and bureaucratization? 6) How do states act in an international/global order? What impact do other actors have on the making of global order? 7) What is the relation between the development of capitalism and state formation?

We will evaluate what each of these perspectives have to contribute to our understanding of substantive issues such as social movements, nationalism, religion, state formation, coercion, populism, race, revolutions, and subject formation. The readings will have an international focus.

The second part of the course will focus on populism, fascism, and race. We will discuss these in the context of established frameworks, but will also raise the possibility that sociology has to be refashioned to speak to our turbulent era. As we approach what seems to be the end of the political formations associated with capitalism (liberalism, democracy, etc.), we will look back at the two major movements (left-wing populism and fascism) that attempted (but failed) to surpass capitalism and its political forms. (The other major anti-capitalist movement of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, communism, will be introduced and discussed in the first three weeks of this course, but its analysis will constitute a background theoretical framework with which we evaluate ongoing challenges to capitalism, liberalism, and modernity). It has become misleadingly fashionable (though still inevitable) to compare Trumpism with fascism, but the public debate misses greater continuities and discontinuities

between the interwar era and our predicament. We will contextualize the globally resurgent right-wing extremism (and the receding left-wing challenges to the neoliberal era) to better understand the current climate of polarization and authoritarianism.

The course has two goals: introducing you to the contested “canon” of political sociology; and making use of this literature for your research. In the service of the second goal, you are expected to write a research proposal as the final paper. The paper needs to address the readings we have covered. **A two-page (double space) proposal for the final paper is due on March 12** (electronically, before class). **The final paper** (15-20 pages, double space, size 12 font, Times New Roman, 1 inch margins) **is due on May 13 (5 pm)**. Each late day will bring down your grade one notch.

Starting with **March 19**, a student (or group of students) will present and discuss each week’s readings. S/he will also discuss the relation of these readings with other books and articles (by picking 5-7 articles and books listed below *one* of the sections under “Further readings” + *any appropriate additional texts*) and broader political sociology. **You need to consult the instructor before you finalize the list of books and articles you will present.** The task of the discussant(s) will include summarizing the important points of the readings (including “Further readings” and additional texts) and coming up with discussion questions to guide the conversation. This exercise is essential for “finding your voice” within political sociology. **You need to plan ahead and start reading** the relevant texts as soon as possible.

## **PART I. MAJOR PERSPECTIVES IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

### **1) CLASSICS**

Marx, Karl. 1978. “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte” in *The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition*. New York: EE Norton. Pp. 594-617

Weber, Max. 1958. “Politics as a Vocation” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 77-128.

#### Further readings:

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. 1978. [1848]. “The Communist Manifesto” in *The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition*. New York: EE Norton. (Pp. 469-483)

Lenin, V.I. 1999 [1902]. *What Is To Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*. New York: International Publishers.

Michels, Robert. [1911] 1962. *Political Parties: a Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Free Press.

Weber, Max. 1958. “Bureaucracy” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Weber, Max. 1958. "Class, Status and Party" in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weber, Max. 1978. "The Types of Legitimate Domination" in *Economy and Society: Volume I*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1951. *Totalitarianism: Part III of the Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers.
- Tocqueville, Alexis. (2000) [1848]. *Democracy in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981 [1959]. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. (Chapters 1 & 2 & more, depending on student interest).
- Dahl, Robert. 2005. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Domhoff, G. William. 1998. *Who Rules America? Power and Politics in the Year 2000* (Third Edition). Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Mills, C. Wright. [1956] 1957. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beck, Ulrich. 1994. "The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization," pp. 1-55 in Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

## 2) NEO-MARXISM

- Gramsci, Antonio. 2003 [1929-1935]. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers. Try to read the entire book. Focus on pp. 206-276, 44-120, 123-205.

### Further readings:

- Poulantzas, Nicos. 1975 [1968]. *Political Power and Social Classes*. London: Verso.
- Miliband, Ralph. 1969. *The State in Capitalist Society*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Poulantzas, Nicos. 1969. "The Problem of the Capitalist State" *New Left Review* 58: 238-62.

Miliband, Ralph. 1970. "The Capitalist State: Reply to Nicos Poulantzas" *New Left Review* 59: 53-60.

Poulantzas, Nicos. 1974. *Fascism and dictatorship: the Third International and the problem of fascism*. London: NLB.

Block, Fred. 1987. "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State" in *Revising State Theory: Essays in Politics and Postindustrialism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Przeworski, Adam. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jessop, Bob. *The Future of the Capitalist State*. Cambridge: Polity 2002

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Anderson, Perry. 1974. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: NLB.

de Leon, Cedric, Manali Desai, and Cihan Tuğal. 2015. *Building Blocs: How Parties Organize Society*. Stanford University Press.

### **3) STATE-CENTERED APPROACHES: CORE ARGUMENT AND METHODOLOGY**

Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burawoy, Michael. 1989. "Two methods in search of science: Skocpol vs. Trotsky." *Theory and Society* 18/6: 759-805.

<http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/methodology/two%20methods.t%26s.pdf>

#### Further readings on the mainstream and/or state-centered theorization of revolution:

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From mobilization to revolution*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Goldstone, Jack. 1991. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gould, Roger. 1995. *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Tilly, Charles. 1993. *European Revolutions, 1492-1992*. Cambridge, UK: Blackwell

Publishers.

Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out*. Cambridge University Press.

Weyland, Kurt. 2009. "The Diffusion of Revolution: '1848' in Europe and Latin America." *International Organization* 63: 391-423.

Further readings on the Russian Revolutions:

Carr, Edward. 1985. *The Bolshevik Revolution*. Three Volumes. W. W. Norton & Company.

Cohen, Stephen F. 1980. *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888-1938*. Oxford University Press.

Sirianni, Carmen. 1982. *Workers' Control and Socialist Democracy: The Early Soviet Experience*. London: NLB.

Althusser, Louis. 1962. "Contradiction and Overdetermination." In "For Marx"  
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1962/overdetermination.htm>

Negri, Antonio. 2014. *Factory of strategy: thirty-three lessons on Lenin*. New York: Columbia University Press. Esp. pp. xi-xxiii.

Rabinowitch, Alexander. 2007. *The Bolsheviks in power: the first year of Soviet rule in Petrograd*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Selections.  
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/detail.action?docID=10212562>

Lih, Lars T. 2011. *Lenin*. London: Reaktion Books. Pp. 7-51, 154-213.  
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/detail.action?docID=10538329>

Further readings on the (non-state centered) sociology of revolution:

Arrighi, Giovanni, Terence K. Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein. 1989. *Anti-Systemic Movements*. London: Verso.

Sewell, William H., Jr. 1985. "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case." *The Journal of Modern History* 57: 57-85.

Sewell, William H., Jr. 1996. "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille." *Theory and Society* 25: 841-881.

Kurzman, Charles. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1996 [1962]. *The Age of Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy. 1992. *Guerillas and Revolution in Latin America*.

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Smith, Jackie and Dawn Wiest. *Social Movements in the World-System: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Foran. 2005. *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hung, Ho-Fung. 2011. *Protest with Chinese Characteristics: Demonstrations, Riots, and Petitions in the Mid-Qing Dynasty*. New York: Columbia University Press.

#### **4) STATE-CENTERED APPROACHES: COERCION AND STATE FORMATION**

Evans, Peter, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. 1985. "On the Road toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State," Pp. 347-366 in Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol (eds), *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital and European States 990-1990: Studies in Social Discontinuity*. New York: Blackwell Publishers. Focus on Pp. 1-37, 127-228.

#### Further readings:

Mann, Michael. 1986. *The sources of social power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Gorski, Philip S. 2003. *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Evans, Peter. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

#### **5) THE NIETZSCHEAN TRADITION AND RHIZOMIC POWER**

Foucault, Michel. 1995. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin. Pp. 135-228.

Foucault, Michel, 2008. *The Birth of Bio-Politics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978–1979*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 1-50, 291-316.

Mitchell, Timothy. 1999. "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," pp. 76-97 in George Steinmetz (ed.) *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. 1987 [1980]. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 3-25, (Skim 351-423).

Further readings:

Agamben, Giorgio, 1995. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Agamben, Giorgio, 2005. *State of Exception*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, Michel, 2003. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975–1976*. New York: Picador.

Foucault, Michel, 2007. *Security, Territory and Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–1978*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, Michel, 2008. *The Birth of Bio-Politics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978–1979*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Hardt, Michael & Antonio Negri, 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hardt, Michael & Antonio Negri, 2004. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

## **6) THE STATE AS A FIELD**

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2015. *On the State*. Polity.

Further readings:

Bourdieu, Pierre and Loic J.D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 94-115.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1999. “Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field,” pp. 53-75 in George Steinmetz (ed.) *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990 [1981]. “Political Representation: Elements for a Theory of the Political Field,” in *Language and Symbolic Power*. Pp. 171-202.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2005. *Pierre Bourdieu and Democratic Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Wacquant, Loïc. 2009. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Duke University Press.
- Eyal, Gil. 2003. *The Origins of Post-Communist Elites: From the Prague Spring to the Break-up of Czechoslovakia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ray, Raka. 1999. *Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Steinmetz, George. "The Colonial State as a Social Field: Ethnographic Capital and Native Policy in the German Overseas Empire before 1914." *American Sociological Review* 73/4: 589-612.

## **PART II. POPULISM, FASCISM, AND RACE**

### **7) Populism before the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

- Jansen, Robert S. 2017. *Revolutionizing Repertoires: The Rise of Populist Mobilization in Peru*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

#### Further readings:

- Laclau, Ernesto. 1977. *Politics and ideology in Marxist theory: capitalism, fascism, populism*. London: NLB.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 2005. *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso.
- Kazin, Michal. 1995. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Taggart, P. 2000. *Populism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. 2000. *Why Americans still don't Vote*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Germani, Gino 1978. *Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Bonikowski, Bart and Paul DiMaggio. 2016. "Varieties of American Popular Nationalism." *American Sociological Review* 81/5: 949-980.
- Diamond, Sara. 1995. *Roads to dominion: Right-wing movements and political power in the United States*. The Guilford Press.



## 8) Fascism

Eley, Geoff. 2013. *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology, and the Ground of Consent in Germany 1930–1945*. London: Routledge.

### Further readings:

Mann, Michael. 2004. *Fascists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riley, Dylan. 2004. "The Enigmas of Fascism." *New Left Review* 30: 134–147.

Riley, Dylan. 2010. *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe: Italy, Spain, and Romania, 1870–1945*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mann, Michael. 2012. *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 3, Global Empires and Revolution, 1890-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brustein William. 1996. *The Logic of Evil: The Social Origins of the Nazi Party, 1925–1933*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Berezin, Mabel. 1997. *Making the Fascist Self: The Political Culture of Interwar Italy*. Cornell University Press.

## 9) Racial politics

Loveman, Mara. 2014. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

### Further readings:

Hall, Stuart. 1980. "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance." Pp. 305–345 in *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2004. "From Bi-racial to Tri-racial: Towards a New System of Racial Stratification in the USA." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27: 931–950.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo . 2014. *Racism without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Fanon, Frantz. 2008 [1952]. *Black Skin, White Masks*.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2007 [2000]. "Black Feminist Epistemology," pp. 327-336 in Craig Calhoun et al (eds) *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2004. *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2005. "Race as Civic Felony." *International Social Science Journal* 181: 127-142.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. *Ethnicity without groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

## **10) The 2008-2013 wave**

Castañeda, Ernesto. 2012. "The Indignados of Spain: A Precedent to Occupy Wall Street." *Social Movement Studies* 11/3-4: 309-319.

Tremayne, Mark. 2014. "Anatomy of Protest in the Digital Era: A Network Analysis of Twitter and Occupy Wall Street." *Social Movement Studies* 13/1: 110-126.

Gürcan, Efe Can and Efe Peker. 2014. "Turkey's Gezi Park Demonstrations of 2013: A Marxian Analysis of the Political Moment." *Socialism and Democracy* 28/1: 70-89.

Selections from the MENA special issue of *Social Movement Studies* 18/1 ("Weathering the Storm: Network Mobilization Dynamics in Uncertain Times in the Middle East and North Africa")  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/csms20/18/1?nav=tocList>

### Further readings:

Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary C. 2017. "Spontaneous Collective Action: Peripheral Mobilization during the Arab Spring." *American Political Science Review* 111/2: 379-403.

Aslanidis, Paris. 2016. "Populist Social Movements of the Great Recession." *Mobilization* 21/3: 301-321.

Beck, C. 2014. "Reflections on the revolutionary wave in 2011." *Theory and Society* 43/2: 197-223.

Lawson, George. 2015. "Revolutions and the International." *Theory and Society* 44/4: 299-319.

Nick Dyer-Witford. 2016 "Cybernetics and the Making of a Global Proletariat." *The Political Economy of Communication* 4/1: 35-65.

"Neo-Liberal Globalization, Democratization, and Movement Responses."  
*Mobilization*. Final issue of 2016, guest edited by Ed Amenta.

Gould-Wartofsky, Michael A. 2015. *The Occupiers: The Making of the 99 Percent Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Mason, Paul. 2013. *Why It's Still Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions*. London: Verso.
- Castells, Manuel. 2012. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Solty, Ingar. 2013. "The Crisis Interregnum: From the New Right-Wing Populism to the Occupy Movement" *Studies in Political Economy* 91: 85-112.
- Korotayev, AV and LM Isayev. 2015. "Quantitative analysis of 2013–2014 revolutionary wave." *Sociological studies* 8: 119-127.
- Korotayev, A, L Issaev, and J Zinkina. 2015. "Center-Periphery Dissonance as a Possible Factor of the Revolutionary Wave of 2013-2014 A Cross-National Analysis." *Cross-Cultural Research* 49/5:1-28.
- Tuğal, Cihan. 2013 "Resistance Everywhere: The Gezi Revolt in Global Perspective." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 49: 147-162.
- Tuğal, Cihan. 2015. "Elusive Revolt: The Contradictory Rise of Middle-Class Politics." *Thesis Eleven*
- Tsakatika, Myrto, and Costas Eleftheriou. 2013. "The Radical Left's Turn towards Civil Society in Greece: One Strategy, Two Paths." *South European Society and Politics* 18/1: 81-99.
- Arab Spring:
- Bayat, Asef. 2017. *Revolution without Revolutionaries: Making Sense of the Arab Spring*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Goldstone, Jack A. 2011. "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011: Weakness and Resilience in Middle Eastern Autocracies." *Foreign Affairs* 90/3.
- Kurzman, Charles. 2012. "The Arab Spring Uncoiled," *Mobilization* 17/4: 377-390.
- Beinin, Joel. 2015. *Workers and Thieves: Labor Movements and Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt*. Pp. 39-134. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Beissinger, Mark, Amaney Jamal, and Kevin Mazur. 2015. "Explaining Divergent Revolutionary Coalitions: Regime Strategies and the Structuring of Participation in the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions." *Comparative Politics* 48/1.
- Kandil, Hazem. 2012. "Why did the Egyptian Middle Class March to Tahrir Square?" *Mediterranean Politics*, 17/2: 197-215.

Harris, Kevan. 2012. "The Brokered Exuberance of the Middle Class: an Ethnographic Analysis of Iran's 2009 Green Movement." *Mobilization* 17/4: 435-455.

Tuğal, Cihan. 2016. *The Fall of the Turkish Model: How the Arab Uprisings Brought Down Islamic Liberalism*. London: Verso.

Achcar, Gilbert. 2016. *Morbid Symptoms: Relapse in the Arab Uprising*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kurt Weyland. 2012. "The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?" *Perspectives on Politics* 10/4: 917-934.

## 11) CONTEMPORARY POPULISM

Singh, Robert. 2017. "'I, the people': a deflationary interpretation of populism, Trump and the United States constitution." *Economy and Society* 46/1: 20-42.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. "Why populism?" *Theory and Society* 46/5: 357-385.

Hetland, Gabriel. 2018. "The Promise and Perils of Radical Left Populism: The Case of Venezuela." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 24/2: 277-292.

### Further readings:

SPECIAL ISSUE: *Journal of World - Systems Research*; 2018; Vol. 24 (2)

Ketola, Markus; Nordensvard, Johan. 2018. "Reviewing the relationship between social policy and the contemporary populist radical right: welfare chauvinism, welfare nation state and social citizenship." *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* 34/3: 172-187.

Herkman, Juha. 2017. "Articulations of populism: the Nordic case." *Cultural Studies* 31/4: 470-488.

da Silva, Filipe Carreira and Mónica Brito Vieira. 2018. "Populism and the politics of redemption." *Thesis Eleven* 149/1: 10-30.

Bray, Michael. 2015. "Rearticulating Contemporary Populism: Class, State, and Neoliberal Society." *Historical Materialism* 23/3.

Collins, Jennifer N. 2014. "New Left Experiences in Bolivia and Ecuador and the Challenge to Theories of Populism." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 46/1: 59-86.

Cannon, Barry. 2018. "Must We Talk about Populism? Interrogating Populism's Conceptual Utility in a Context of Crisis." *New Political Science* 40/3: 477-496.

- Yannis, Stavrakakis and Jäger, Anton. “Accomplishments and limitations of the ‘new’ mainstream in contemporary populism studies.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 21/4: 547-565.
- Garrido, Marco. 2017. “Why the Poor Support Populism: The Politics of Sincerity in Metro Manila.” *American Journal of Sociology* 123/3: 647-685.
- “Special Issue: The Trump/Brexit Moment: Causes and Consequences.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 68/S1: 1-280.
- Hochschild, Arlie R.. 2016. *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*. The New Press.
- Judis, John B. 2016. *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*. New York: Columbia Global Reports.
- Giugni, Marco, Ruud Koopmans, Florence Passy and Paul Statham. 2005. “Institutional and Discursive Opportunities for Extreme-Right Mobilization in Five Countries.” *Mobilization* 10/1: 145-162.
- Rydgren, J. 2005. “Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family.” *European Journal of Political Research* 44/3: 413–437.
- Ellinas, Antonis A. 2013. “The Rise of Golden Dawn: The New Face of the Far Right in Greece.” *South European Society and Politics* 18/4: 543–65.
- Koopmans, Ruud and Jasper Muis. 2009. “The rise of right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands: A discursive opportunity approach.” *European Journal of Political Research* 48/5: 642-664.
- Wodak, Ruth et al (eds). 2013. *Right-wing populism in Europe: politics and discourse*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. 2008. “What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41/1: 3-23.
- Oesch, D. 2008. “Explaining Workers' Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland.” *International Political Science Review* 29/3: 349-373.
- Derks. 2006. “Populism and the ambivalence of egalitarianism. How do the underprivileged reconcile a right wing party preference with their socio-economic attitudes?” *World Political Science* 2/3: 175-200.
- Berezin, Mabel. 2009. *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times*. Cambridge University Press.

- Caiani, Manuela; Porta, Donatella della. 2011. "The elitist populism of the extreme right: A frame analysis of extreme right-wing discourses in Italy and Germany." *Acta Politica* 46/2: 180-202.
- Larson, Magali Sarfatti; Porpora, Douglas. 2011. "The Resistible Rise of Sarah Palin: Continuity and Paradox in the American Right Wing." *Sociological Forum* 26/4: 754-778.
- Shields, Stuart. 2012. "Opposing Neoliberalism? Poland's renewed populism and post-communist transition." *Third World Quarterly* 33/2: 359-381.
- Dinas, Elias and Joost Van Spanje. 2011. "Crime Story: The Role of Crime and Immigration in the Anti-Immigration Vote." *Electoral Studies* 30/4: 658-71.
- Sørensen, Rune Jørgen. 2016. "After the Immigration Shock: The Causal Effect of Immigration on Electoral Preferences." *Electoral Studies* 44:1-14.
- Swank, Duane and Hans-Georg Betz. 2003. "Globalization, the Welfare State and Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." *Socio-Economic Review* 1/2:215-45.
- Gillian Hart. 2013. *Rethinking the South African Crisis: Nationalism, Populism, Hegemony*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

## **12) Parties and neoliberalism**

- Pacewicz, Josh. 2016. *Partisans and Partners: The Politics of the Post-Keynesian Society*. The University of Chicago Press.