

The Rise of the New Right in the United States

EES 79903 (58096) (Doctoral Course)

Fall Semester 2020

Mondays 2-4pm EST

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Course Description

In this class, we will seek to understand the origins and rise of the New Right in the United States and elsewhere, as it has taken shape in the latter half of the twentieth century to the present. We will seek to identify the origins of the New Right, what defines it, explore the varied geographies of the movement, and identify the constituents of the contemporary conservative coalition. In addition, we will explore the actors and institutions that have played a role in the expansion of the New Right (i.e. courts, state and local governments, Tea Party, conservative think tanks, lawyers, evangelical Christians, militias), and the issues that motivate the movement (i.e. immigration, environment, white supremacy/nationalism, voter suppression, neoliberal economic policies, free speech, etc.). This is a reading-intensive, discussion-oriented seminar in which we will survey a broad sweep of the recent literature on the New Right. While the class focuses most specifically on the US context, papers based on international/comparative case studies are welcome. Students will be required to write weekly reading memos and a brief final paper that links the themes of the class with their research agenda.

Course Expectations and Requirements

This is a reading-intensive, discussion-oriented seminar. Students are expected to attend all seminar meetings with the assigned texts read in completion and arrive to class ready to fully participate in discussions.

Assignments

(1) You will write a **short weekly memo** of approximately 300-500 words. This memo should be structured like a literature review or book review essay. In other words, you should combine a critical summary of the reading(s) with a discussion of the contributions and/or deficiencies—theoretical, empirical, methodological—of each reading to the broader literature under consideration. If appropriate, you can also frame the readings in relation to your evolving research topic. During the first meeting of class, we'll have a discussion about how to structure these memos. **Post your memo to Blackboard prior to our class meeting each week.**

(2) You will write a brief final paper (3-5 pages) that connects the themes of the course with your own research project. We will discuss this final paper later in the semester.

Readings and Course Materials

We will be reading all or significant portions of various books (see below). Additional readings will be available on Blackboard or available via the library's journal databases and e-reserves.

COURSE OUTLINE

1. August 31: Introduction

September 7: NO CLASS

2. September 14: Origins

Joseph Lowndes. 2009. *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism*. Yale University Press.

Jane Mayer, 2017. *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right*. New York: Anchor. Preface, Introduction, and Part One: “Weaponizing Philanthropy: The War of Ideas, 1970-2008” (pp. xi-194) and Chapter 14, “Selling the New Koch: A Better Battle Plan” (pp. 435-465).

Additional suggested readings:

- Schickler, Eric. 2016. *Racial Realignment The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932–1965*. Princeton University Press.
- Glenn, Brian J, and Steven Teles. 2009. *Conservatism and American Political Development*. Oxford; New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.
- Phillips, Kevin. 2014. *The Emerging Republican Majority*. Princeton University Press.
- Neil Gross, Thomas Medvetz, and Rupert Russell. 2011. “The Contemporary American Conservative Movement,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 37 (1): 325–335.
- Corey Robin. 2011. *The Reactionary Mind: Conservatism from Edmund Burke to Sarah Palin*. Oxford University Press.
- Michael Roberto. 2018. *The Coming of the American Behemoth: The Origins of Fascism in the United States: 1920-1940*. Monthly Review Press.
- Rick Perlstein. 2020. *Reaganland: America’s Right Turn 1976-1980*. Simon and Schuster.

3. September 21: Neoliberalism

David Harvey, 2007. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press. ALL

Monica Prasad, 2018. *Starving the Beast: Ronald Reagan and the Tax Cut Revolution*. Russell Sage Foundation. Intro, conclusion, and other chapters as desired.

Additional suggested readings:

- Monica Prasad, 2006. *The Politics of Free Markets: The Rise of Neoliberal Policies in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States*. University of Chicago Press.

September 28: NO CLASS

4. Tuesday, September 29: Geographies of the Right 1

Lisa McGirr. 2015. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. Princeton University Press

Kevin M. Kruse. 2007. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. Princeton University Press.

Additional suggested readings:

- David R. Roediger, 2006. *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*. Basic Books.

5. October 5: The Christian Right

Daniel Williams. 2010. *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*. Oxford University Press.

Additional suggested readings:

- Thomas Kidd. 2020. *Who is an Evangelical?: The History of a Movement in Crisis*. Yale University Press.
- Bethany Moreton. 2010. *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: the Making of Christian Free Enterprise*. Harvard University Press.
- Lewis, Andrew R. 2019. "The Inclusion Moderation Thesis: The U.S. Republican Party and the Christian Right." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.665> [doi.org]
- Dochuk, Darren. 2012. *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2012.
- Heath Brown. 2020. *Homeschooling the Right: How Conservative Education Activism Erodes the State*. Columbia University Press.

October 12: NO CLASS

6. Wednesday, October 14: Geographies of the Right 2

Bonds, A., & Inwood, J. 2016. Beyond White Privilege: Geographies of White Supremacy and Settler Colonialism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(6), 715–733.

Inwood, J. 2012. "Righting Unrightable Wrongs: Legacies of Racial Violence and the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 102 (6) 1450-1468.

Inwood, J. 2015. "Neoliberal Racism: The "Southern Strategy" and the Expanding Geographies of White Supremacy." *Journal of Social and Cultural Geography*, 16 (4) 1-17.

Inwood, J. 2012. "Geographies of Race in the American South: The Continuing Legacies of Jim Crow Segregation." *Southeastern Geographer* 51 (4) 564-577. [[this is OK, but not great]]

Pulido, Laura. 2015. "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity I: White Supremacy vs White Privilege in Environmental Racism Research" *Progress in Human Geography*, pp. 809-817. [[assign her 2000 article instead]]

October 19: NO CLASS

7. October 26: Postneoliberalism?

Jeff Maskovsky and Sophie Bjork-James. 2020. *Beyond Populism: Angry Politics and the Twilight of Neoliberalism*. West Virginia University Press.

David Brooks. 7 August 2020. "Where do Republicans go from here?" *New York Times*:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/07/opinion/sunday/republican-party-trump-2020.html>

8. November 2: Voter Suppression

Carol Anderson. 2018. *One Person, No Vote: How Voter Suppression is Destroying our Democracy*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Ari Berman. 2015. *Give us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America*. Picador Books.

Additional suggested readings:

- Jim Rutenberg (September 30, 2020) “The Attack on Voting: How President Trump’s false claim of voter fraud is being used to disenfranchise Americans.” *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/30/magazine/trump-voter-fraud.html?action=click&module=Spotlight&pgtype=Homepage>

9. November 9: Tea Party

Katherine Cramer. 2016. *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. University of Chicago Press

Wendy Brown, 2019. *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Antidemocratic Politics in the West*. Columbia University Press.

10. November 16: State Activism

Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, 2019. *State Capture: How Conservative Activists, Big Businesses, and Wealthy Donors Reshaped the American States—and the Nation*. Oxford University Press.

Ben Merriman, 2019. *Conservative Innovators: How States are Challenging Federal Power*. University of Chicago Press.

11. November 23: Immigration and Nativism

Nandita Sharma. 2020. *Home Rule: National Sovereignty and the Separation of Natives and Migrants*. Duke University Press.

Daniel Denvir. 2020. *All American Nativism: How the Bipartisan War on Immigrants Explains Politics as We Know It*. New York: Verso Press.

The *New York Times Daily* Podcast. August 19, 2019. “Bankrolling the anti-immigration movement: Much of the money behind the movement can be traced to one heiress who made it her life’s work to keep immigrants out of America”:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/19/podcasts/the-daily/immigration-cordelia-scaife-may.html>

Additional suggested readings:

- Jenna Loyd and Alison Mountz, 2018. *Borders, Boats, Bases: Race, the Cold War, and the Rise of Migration Detention in the United States*. University of California Press.
- John Hultgren, 2015. *Border Walls Gone Green: Nature and Anti-immigrant Politics in America*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Erika Lee, 2019. *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States*. Basic Books.

- Marisa Abrajano and Zoltan Hajnal. 2015. *White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- John Higham. 1955. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. Rutgers University Press.
- Harel Shapira. 2013. *Waiting for José: The Minutemen's Pursuit of America*. Princeton University Press.

12. November 30: Environment

Arlie Hochschild, 2018. *Strangers in their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*. NY: New Press.

John Hultgren. 2014. "The 'nature' of American immigration restrictionism," *New Political Science*. 36(1): 52-75.

13. December 7: Militias and White Nationalism

Kathleen Belew. 2019. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*, Harvard University Press.

Inwood, J., & Bonds, A. 2017. Property, race, and whiteness: The Oregon Standoff and the contradictions of the settler state. *Space and Polity*, 21(3): 253-268.

Additional suggested readings:

- Mike Giglio (Nov 2020). "A Pro-Trump Militant Group Has Recruited Thousands of Police, Soldiers, and Veterans." *The Atlantic*: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/11/right-wing-militias-civil-war/616473/>