

# Joseph Lowndes

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## POSITIONS

Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Graduate Faculty - Indigenous, Race, and Ethnic Studies  
University of Oregon

Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Oregon  
2009-2020

Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Oregon  
2003-2009

Research Associate  
Demos  
New York, New York  
2000-2002

## EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, New School for Social Research, Department of Political Science  
2003

Dissertation: *The Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism 1945-1976*  
Hannah Arendt Prize for Best Dissertation in Politics, New School for Social Research  
Master of Arts in New School for Social Research, Department of Political Science  
1996

Bachelor of Arts, Antioch College  
1990

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

US politics, American political development, race and ethnicity, populism, right-wing politics, Black politics, social movements, American political thought.

## PUBLICATIONS

### **Books:**

2019. *Producers, Parasites, Patriots: Race and the New Right-Wing Politics of Precarity*. With Daniel Martinez HoSang. University of Minnesota Press.

2008. *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism*. Yale University Press.

# Joseph Lowndes

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2008. *Race and American Political Development*. Edited with Julie Novkov and Dorian Warren. Routledge Press.

## Articles (Peer-Reviewed):

2017. "William F. Buckley Jr.: Antiblackness as Anti-Democracy." James Baldwin, William F. Buckley Jr., and the American Dream Special Symposium, *Journal of American Political Thought*. Volume 6, Number 1, pp. 632 - 640.

2017. "From New Class Critique to White Nationalism: *Telos*, the Alt Right, and the Origins of Trumpism." *Konturen*. Volume 9.

2016. "Parasites of Government: Racial Antistatism and Representations of Public Employees amid the Great Recession." with Daniel Martinez HoSang. *American Quarterly*. Volume 68, No. 4, pp. 931 - 954.

2016. "White Populism and the Transformation of the Silent Majority" *The Forum*. Volume 14, Issue 1, pp. 25-37.

2013. "Barack Obama's Body: The Presidency, the Body Politic, and the Contest over American National Identity." *Polity*. Volume 45, Issue 4, pp. 469 - 498.

2011. "Looking Forward to the History of the Tea Party Movement" *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society and Culture*. Volume 10, Issue 3.

2002. "Unstable Antistatism: The Left, the Right and *The Outlaw Josey Wales*," *The International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*. Volume 16, Number 2, Winter 2002, pp. 237 - 253.

## Book Chapters (Peer-Reviewed):

2021. "From Pat Buchanan to Donald Trump: The Nativist Turn in Right-Wing Populism." *A Field Guide to White Supremacy*. Edited by Kathleen Belew and Ramón A. Gutiérrez. University of California Press.

2021. "Trump and the Populist Presidency." *Populism in Global Perspective: A Performative and Discursive Approach*. Edited By Pierre Ostiguy, Francisco Panizza, and Benjamin Moffitt. Routledge Press.

2019. "Theorizing Race in the Age of Inequality." With Daniel Martinez HoSang. *Race Post-Race: Culture, Critique, and the Color Line*. Edited by Roopali Mukherjee, Sarah Weiser-Benet, Herman Gray. Duke University Press, pp. 37 – 56.

2018. "Populism and Race in the United States from George Wallace to Donald Trump." *The Routledge International Handbook of Global Populism*. Edited by Carlos De la Torre. Routledge Press, pp. 190 – 200.

2018. "US Populism." *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Edited by Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, Pierre Ostiguy, and Paul Taggart. Oxford University Press, pp. 232 – 247.

2015. "American Politics." *The Routledge Handbook of Interpretive Political Science*. Edited by Mark Bevir and R.A. Rhodes. Routledge Press, pp. 256 – 267.

2013. "From Birmingham to Baghdad: The Micro Politics of Regime Change." With Victoria Hattam. *Political Creativity: New Approaches to Institutional Diversity and Change*. Edited by Gerald Berk, Dennis Galvan, and Victoria Hattam. University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 211 - 235.

# Joseph Lowndes

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2012. “The Past and Future of Race in the Tea Party Movement” in *Steep: The Vertiginous Rise of the Tea Party*. Edited by Christine Trost and Lawrence Rosenthal. University of California Press, pp. 152 – 170.

2008. “Race and American Political Development.” With Julie Novkov and Dorian Warren. In *Race and American Political Development*, edited by Joseph Lowndes, Julie Novkov and Dorian Warren, Routledge Press, pp. 1-30.

2007. “The Ground Beneath Our Feet: Language, Culture and Political Change.” With Victoria Hattam. In *Formative Acts: Reckoning with Agency in American Politics*, edited by Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp 199 - 219.

2005. “From Founding Violence to Political Hegemony: The Conservative Populism of George Wallace” in *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*, edited by Francisco Panizza, Verso Books, pp. 144 - 171.

## Invited Essays:

2014. “A Democratic Zealot in the Streets and on the Page” in the Symposium: “‘The Most Damage I Can Do’: Joel Olson in Political Theory, Political Critique, and Political Activism” *New Political Science*, Volume 36, Number 2, pp. 22-24.

2010. “Does the Tea Party Represent Another Great Awakening?” *CQ Researcher*, p. 257.

2005. “The Inevitably Cultural Politics of Class.” An invited response article in *International Labor and Working-Class History* No. 67, Spring pp. 50 - 53.

2003. “The Dog That Died: The Southern Triumph over Racial Equality.” *Radical Society*, Volume 30, Number 1.

## Book Reviews:

2021. *The Fight for Time: Migrant Day Laborers and the Politics of Precarity*. By Paul Apostolidis. *Political Theory*. Published online July 21.

2018. “The Problem and Promise of the People” Review essay of *What is Populism?* By Jan-Werner Müller, and *Populism’s Power: Radical Grassroots Democracy in America*. By Laura Grattan. *Political Theory*, August, pp. 643 - 649.

2013. *Thurmond’s America*. By Joseph Crespino, and *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy since the 1960s*. By Robert O. Self. *Journal of American History*, Volume 100, No. 2 September, pp. 485-487.

2001. *Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan, Star Wars and the End of the Cold War* by Frances FitzGerald, *Ethics and International Affairs Journal*, Volume 15, Number 1.

## PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

### Articles:

2021. “How the Far Right Weaponized America’s Democratic Roots.” *The New Republic*. August 10. <https://newrepublic.com/article/163210/far-right-proud-boys-tea-party-myth>

## Joseph Lowndes

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2021. "Will a More Dangerous Far Right Spring from the Corpse of Trumpism?" (With Daniel Martinez HoSang) *Common Dreams*, January 12. <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2021/01/12/will-more-dangerous-far-right-spring-corpse-trumpism>
2020. "The GOP had an uneasy relationship with the far right. Until Trump." *Washington Post*, September 16. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/09/16/gop-far-right-trump/>
2020. "Murdering Democracy in Kenosha." *Common Dreams*. August 27. <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2020/08/27/murdering-democracy-kenosha>
2020. "The Morbid Ideology Behind the Drive to Reopen America." *The New Republic*, April 30. <https://newrepublic.com/article/157505/morbid-ideology-behind-drive-reopen-america>
2019. "Trump and the Shifting Landscape of Political Conflict: What Minneapolis Can Teach Us." *Public Seminar*, October 16. <https://publicseminar.org/essays/trump-and-the-shifting-landscape-of-political-conflict/>
2018. "Populist Persuasions: The Promise and Perils of Left Populism." *The Baffler*. October 31. <https://thebaffler.com/latest/populist-persuasions-lowndes>
2017. "Roy Moore lost, but his brand of right-wing white populism still dominates the GOP." *Washington Post*, Sunday Print Edition, December 13. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-byhistory/wp/2017/12/13/roy-moore-lost-the-battle-but-hes-winning-the-war/>
2017. "Black British Struggle: An Interview with Linton Kwesi Johnson." *Africa Is a Country*. <https://africasacountry.com/2017/05/linton-kwesi-johnson-and-black-british-struggle/>
2016. "From Silent Majority to White-Hot Rage: Observations from Cleveland." *Counterpunch Magazine*, July 22. <https://www.counterpunch.org/2016/07/22/from-silent-majority-to-white-hot-rage-observations-from-cleveland/>
2016. "Trump and the GOP: The Silent Majority vs the Establishment." *The Conversation*. January 27. <https://theconversation.com/trump-and-the-gop-the-silent-majority-versus-the-establishment-53616>
2015. "Republicans Say Goodbye to the Confederate Flag and Hello to a New Strategy." *The Monkey Cage*. *Washington Post*. June 24. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/06/24/republicanssay-goodbye-to-the-confederate-flag-and-hello-to-a-new-strategy/>
2015. "At its Core, American Sniper is about white Fear." *The Conversation*. April 20. <https://theconversation.com/atits-core-american-sniper-is-about-white-fear-37613>
2011. "Occupy Wall Street: A Twenty-First Century Populist Movement?" With Dorian Warren. *Dissent Magazine*. [https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online\\_articles/occupy-wall-street-a-twenty-first-century-populist-movement](https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/occupy-wall-street-a-twenty-first-century-populist-movement)

### Interviews and podcasts:

2021. *Under the Blacklight*. Episode 32. "If Hindsight is 2020, Why Aren't We Saved?" Moderated by Kimberlé Crenshaw. African American Policy Forum. January 13. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=By0NYb2qULg>

# Joseph Lowndes

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2021. *The Dig*. “Right Riot.” With Nikhil Singh. January 11. <https://www.thedigradio.com/podcast/right-riot-with-nikhil-pal-singh-and-joe-lowndes/>

2020. *Under the Blacklight: Mobilizing Whiteness to Re-open America*. Episode 7. Moderated by Kimberlé Crenshaw. African American Policy Forum. May 12. <https://www.aapf.org/ep7-utb>

2020. *The Dig*. “Right-wing Racism.” With Daniel Martinez HoSang, February 14. <https://www.thedigradio.com/podcast/right-wing-racism-with-daniel-martinez-hosang-joe-lowndes/>

2017. “The Far Right and Growing Racial Conflict in the United States.” *France 24*, August 28. <https://www.france24.com/en/20170828-joseph-lowndes-charlottesville-clashes-supremacist-trump-un-racism-confederate-white>

2017. “Steve Bannon: Political Upheaval By Design.” *On Point* NPR and WBUR Boston, April 14. <https://www.wbur.org/onpoint/2017/04/11/fourth-turning-steve-bannon>

2016. “The Black Panthers.” BBC Radio 4, British Broadcasting Corporation. October 8. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07x12m5>

2015. “How Should Politicians Address Racial Justice?” MSNBC News, July 23. <https://www.msnbc.com/nerding-out/watch/how-should-politicians-address-racial-justice--490145859629>

2010. “Who’s Raising Money for the Tea Party?” Morning Edition, *National Public Radio*, February 19. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=123859296>

## INVITED PRESENTATIONS

2021. “American Citizenship.” Department of Political Science, Boston University. April.

2021. “After Neoliberalism.” Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research. February.

2020. “White Supremacy, the 2020 Election, & the Pacific Northwest.” Eastern Washington University. November.

2020. “The Past and Future of the Right in US Politics.” Department of Political Science, University of Toronto. October.

2020. “Populism, Radicalism and the 2020 Election.” The Foley Institute, Washington State University. September.

2020. “Producers, Parasites, Patriots.” Department of American Studies, Yale University. February.

2019. “The Far Right Today.” Center for Right-Wing Studies, University of California, Berkeley. February.

2019. “Racial Dispossession, Class Dislocation and the Campaigns of Pat Buchanan.” Conference on Nativism, White Power and Anti-Immigrant Violence, University of Chicago. April.

2017. “The Strange Career of Middle America.” Symposium on Racism, Antisemitism and the Radical Right. Yale University. September 15.

# Joseph Lowndes

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2017. “Middle American Radicalism’ to Racial Rule: A Political Genealogy of Trumpism.” Roosevelt House, Hunter College, New York City. April.

2014. “US Populism and the Ambivalent Politics of ‘the Low.’” Workshop on Comparative Populisms Worldwide. Catholic University, Santiago de Chile. July.

2014. “Theorizing Race in the Age of Inequality” with Daniel HoSang. Race and the American State: An Interdisciplinary Conference, hosted by the University of Michigan Law School. April.

2012. “Populism within Europe and beyond its borders” Research and Multinational Dialogue Project at the European Office of the Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung, Brussels, Belgium. December.

2011. “Public Enemy: Race and the Tea Party Politics of Privatization.” Public Presentation at Northern Arizona University. March.

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2020. “Civic and Racial Nationalism Today.” American Political Science Association Meetings, virtual meeting.

2019. “Racial Dispossession, Class Dislocation and the Campaigns of Pat Buchanan.” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Washington D.C.

2019. “The Strange Career of Middle America.” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Washington D.C.

2019. “Whose Populism? Locating ‘the People’ in American Populist Politics.” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Washington D.C.

2018. “Populism, Global and Local: Crisis Response or the New Normal?” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Boston, MA.

2017. “White Genocide’s Gonna Get Your Mama.” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, San Francisco, CA.

2017. “Linton Kwesi Johnson and CLR James.” Caribbean Philosophical Association Annual Meeting, New York City.

2017. “Author Meets Critics: Laura Grattan’s *Populism’s Power*.” Western Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Vancouver, Canada.

2016. “The Populist Violence of Donald Trump.” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Philadelphia, PA.

2016. “Toward a Left-wing Populism.” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Philadelphia, PA.

2016. Roundtable: “Race and Popular Sovereignty in the American Political Imaginary.” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Philadelphia, PA.

## Joseph Lowndes

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2014. Roundtable: "Working Identities and the Double Bind of Racial Performance." American Studies Association Annual Meetings, Los Angeles, CA.
2013. "Zealotry in the Streets and on the Page." Roundtable on Joel Olson: His Legacy in Political Theory, Political Critique and Political Activism. Western Political Science Annual Meetings, Hollywood, CA.
2012. "Populist Inversion: Antistatism and the Future of Public Sector Unions" Western Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Portland, OR.
2012. Roundtable presentation on Living, Perceiving, Representing Global Crises Within and Beyond National Frames. Western Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Portland, OR.
2011. "Inverted Populism: Analyzing the Contemporary Opposition to Public Sector Unions." Social Science History Association Annual Meetings, Boston, MA.
2011. "The Past and Future of the Tea Party Movement" Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Boston, MA.
2011. "Race in Post-Civil Rights American" Roundtable presentation at the American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Boston, MA.
2010. "Barack Obama, the Body Politic, and the Contest over American National Identity." Western Political Science Annual Meetings, San Francisco.
2008. "Martin Luther King, Condoleezza Rice, and Barak Obama: Rethinking (Dis)Order and Change" With Victoria Hattam. American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Boston, MA.
2007. "Race and American Political Development." Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Chicago, IL.
2006. "From Birmingham to Baghdad: Can Republicans Reconfigure Race and Party Today?" American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Philadelphia, PA.
2006. "The Ground Beneath Our Feet: Language, Culture and Political Change." Workshop on Issues of Identity and Rhetoric in American Political Development, Harvard University.
2005. "Rethinking the Democratic Synthesis." Annual Meeting of Social Science History Association, Portland, OR.
2005. "Rethinking the Democratic Synthesis." American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
2004. "The Strange Career of White Backlash." Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, OR.
2002. "Goldwater was the Horsepower: Conservatives, the GOP and the South 1952-1964." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.
2002. "Political Heterogeneity and Political Identification: The 1960s and the Question of Backlash."

# Joseph Lowndes

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Symposium on Politics and Identification, sponsored by the Committee on Ideology and Discourse Analysis, Essex University, United Kingdom.

2001. "Politicizing Racial Cleavage in the Post-War Era: Charles Collins and the Dixiecrat Revolt." American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, San Francisco, CA.

## HONORS AND AWARDS

2021. Fund for Faculty Excellence Award, University of Oregon. \$20,000 award to faculty who have a record of distinction in their quality of scholarship and creative accomplishment, contribution to their respective field, and contribution to the university.

2019. Tykeson Teaching Award in the Social Sciences, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Oregon.

2019. College of Arts and Sciences Program Grant. This \$6000 grant was used to host a two-day workshop at the University of Oregon, "Race, Politics, and History" for scholars in the US and Canada.

2017. College of Arts and Sciences Program Grant. This \$6000 program grant was matched by the University of Oregon Office of International Affairs to convene an international symposium on Populism titled "'I Am a People': The Performance and Cross-Regional Praxis of Populism."

2015. Rippey Innovative Teaching Award, University of Oregon.

2012-13. Resident Scholar Award, Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics.

2006. Colligan Award for Political Science Faculty, University of Oregon.

2006. College of Arts and Sciences Program Grant. This \$5000 program grant was matched by the Department of Political Science to convene a conference on race and U.S. political development held at the University of Oregon.

2004. Hannah Arendt Prize for Best Dissertation in Politics, New School for Social Research.

2003. Mellon Foundation Dissertation Fellowship: "Rethinking African American Studies," University of Chicago.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- PS 607 Proseminar in US Politics
- PS 617 Interpretive Research Methods
- PS 608 American Political Culture
- PS 449/549 US Racial Politics
- PS405/505 US Presidency
- PS 401/501 Music and Politics
- HC 445 Populism, Fascism, Antifascism
- PS 309 American Political Thought
- PS 201 Introduction to US Politics and Government
- PS 201 Introduction to US Politics and Government (Asynchronous online)

## GRADUATE STUDENT SUPERVISION, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

- Brett Scott, "Racial Risk: Exploitation by Design" (Ph.D. dissertation chair, current).



# Joseph Lowndes

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- Sarah Stach, “Between Every Two Pines: The Colonial Politics of Recreation” (Ph.D. dissertation co-chair, current).
- Katie Temple, “Corporate Mindfulness and Meditation: Making Sense of Eastern Spiritual Practices in the Workplace.” (Ph.D. dissertation committee member, current).
- Malori Musselman, “Faith and Change in Communities of Peril.” (Ph.D. dissertation chair. Defended 2020).
- Yongwoo Jeung, “Labor Market Policy American Style: State Capacity and Policy Innovation, 1959-1968.” (Ph.D. dissertation committee member. Defended 2020).
- Lisa Beard, “If We Were Kin: Race, Identification, and Intimate Political Appeal.” (Ph.D. dissertation co-chair. Defended 2016)
- John Steinmetz, “Liquor, Movies, and the Cultural Formation of Civil Liberties in the Progressive Era.” (Ph.D. dissertation committee member. Defended 2016).
- Joshua Plencner, “Four-Color Political Visions: Origins, Affect, and Assemblage in American Superhero Comics.” (Ph.D. dissertation chair. Defended May 2015).
- Jeremy Strickler, “Between Guns and Butter: Cold-War Presidents, Agenda-Setting, and Visions of National Strength.” (Ph.D. Dissertation committee member. Defended 2015).
- Abdurrhman Pasha, “The Self-Help Cooperative Movement in Los Angeles, 1931-1940.” (Ph.D. dissertation committee member, defended 2014).
- Daniel Andersen, “From Deliberation to Dialogue: The Role of the I-Thou in Democratic Experience.” (Ph.D. committee member. Defended 2012).
- Forrest Nabors, “The Problem of Reconstruction: The Political Regime of the Antebellum Slave South. (Dissertation committee member. Defended 2010).
- Jennifer Hehnke, “The Politics of Racial Integration in the Seattle Public Schools: Discourse, Policy, and Political Change, 1954-1991. (Ph.D. committee member. Defended 2010).
- Sean Parson, “An Ungovernable Force? Food Not Bombs, Homeless Activism and Politics in San Francisco, 1988- 1995. (Ph.D. committee member. Defended 2009).

## ACADEMIC SERVICE/ORGANIZATIONS

### **Departmental Service, University of Oregon**

- US Field Chair 2020-2021
- Personnel Committee (elected) 2020-2021
- Personnel Committee (elected) 2019-2020
- Curriculum Committee 2018-2019
- US Politics Field Chair 2016-2017
- Curriculum Committee (Chair) 2016-2017
- Honors and Awards Committee 2015-2016
- Peer Teaching Review 2013-2014
- Personnel Committee (elected) 2012-2013
- Honors and Awards Committee 2012-2013
- Environmental Politics Search Committee 2011-2012
- Personnel Committee (elected) 2011-2012
- Curriculum Committee (Chair) 2011-2012
- Political Theory Search Committee 2009-2010
- US Politics Field Chair 2009-2010
- Undergraduate Advising (Co-chair) 2009-2010

# Joseph Lowndes

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- Personnel Committee (elected) 2009-2010
- Admissions and Awards 2008-2009
- US Politics Field Chair 2007-2008
- Curriculum Committee (Chair) 2007-2008
- US Politics Field Chair 2006-2007
- Curriculum Committee 2006-2007
- AAEO Committee 2006-2007
- Admissions and Awards Committee 2005-2006
- AAEO Committee 2005-2006
- AAEO Committee 2004-2005
- Curriculum and Honors Committee 2003-2004

## University Service, University of Oregon:

- Dean's Advisory Council, 2021-2022
- Advisory Board, Oregon Humanities Center 2016-2020.
- University Graduate Council 2012-2015. Chair, 2014-2015.
- Chair, Politics and Legislative Action Committee, United Academics Faculty Union 2012-2016.
- Advisory Board, Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics, 2006-2012.

## Professional Service:

- Editorial Board, *Journal of Right-Wing Studies*. Current.
- Editorial Board, *Polity*. Current.
- Walter Dean Burnham Dissertation Award Committee. Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, 2020.
- Committee Chair, Best Dissertation Prize, Western Political Science Association, 2018.
- Executive Council on Interpretive Methodology, American Political Science Association, 2014 – 2017.
- Executive Council and Vice President, American Federation of Teachers Oregon 2012-2016.
- Section Chair, Politics and History, Midwestern Political Science Association 2016.
- Section Co-chair, Politics and History, Western Political Science Association 2013.
- Executive Council of the Organized Section on Politics and History of the American Political Science Association, 2007-2009.

## Manuscript Reviewer:

*American Political Science Review; American Quarterly; Ethnic and Racial Politics; Political Research Quarterly; Politics, Groups, and Identities; Polity; Perspectives on Politics; Studies in American Political Development; Duke University Press; University of Pennsylvania Press; University of Minnesota Press.*