

BIBLIOGRAPHY

TRUMP

Trade policy

Appelbaum, B. (2017), Trump Is Off to a Slow Start on Trade Promises, *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/24/business/economy/trump-trade-policy.html?_r=0

This article finds that Trump has not acted on many of the trade promises he made during the campaign – he has been much less active on trade than almost every other measure in his agenda. Despite this, Mexico triggered its 90-day notification of its Congress, necessary before renegotiating NAFTA, in preparation of any moves by Trump.

Capurro, D. (2017), Donald Trump's trade policy is driving Latin America into China's arms, *The Telegraph*. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/17/donald-trumps-trade-policy-driving-latin-america-chinas-arms/>

Says that the increased primacy of China in Latin America follows on trends established by Obama with his pivot to Asia.

Denoël, Yvonnick (dir.) (2017), *Les dossiers noirs de Donald Trump*, Paris: Éditions Nouveau Monde. Foreign Affairs, special issue, *Trump and the Allies. The View from Abroad*, September- October, 2017.

Gallagher, K. (2017), Will China Gain From a US Withdrawal in Latin America?, *The Diplomat*. <http://thediplomat.com/2017/02/will-china-gain-from-a-us-withdrawal-in-latin-america/>

Says that Trump's trade policies will give China primacy in Latin America.

Gillespie, P. (2017), Trump doubles down on Mexico «border tax» threat, *CNN Money*. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/11/news/economy/trump-border-tax-mexico/>

Discusses Trump's threats to issue a 35% border tax, which could take the form of a tariff or a border adjustment tax.

Ikenberry, G. John, The Plot Against American Foreign Policy. Can the Liberal Order Survive?, *Foreign Affairs*, volume 96, number 3, May-June, 2017.

MacGillis, Alec and ProPublica, The original underclass, *The Atlantic*, September, 2016.

Mead, Walter R., The Jacksonian Revolt. American Populism and the Liberal Order, *Foreign Affairs*, volume 96, number 2, March-April, 2017.

Oppenheimer, A. (2017), Trump's tirades against free trade are hurting Latin America. And that's bad for the U.S., *Miami Herald*. <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/news-columns-blogs/andres-oppenheimer/article127238619.html>

Notes the IMF revised its economic projections for Latin America downward due to increased headwinds from US-related uncertainty in Mexico as well as stagnation in Brazil.

Perlez, J. and Buckley, C. (2017), Trump Injects High Risk Into Relations With China, *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/24/world/asia/trump-us-china-trade-trans-pacific-partnership.html>

Article notes that China is likely to benefit in the world economy from increased US protectionism, and will likely take a stronger stance due to internal political sensitivities. Officials have already developed lists of punitive options they would take against the US if necessary, and China is already pushing for an alternative trade agreement to replace the TPP, called the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) which is largely the same as the TPP but excludes the US.

Shirk, S. (2017), Trump and China, *Foreign Affairs*. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-02-13/trump-and-china?cid=nlc-fatoday-20170214&sp_mid=53421264&sp_rid=bWFydGluZX-BAdXNjLmVkdQS2&spMailingID=53421264&spUserID=MjQ2NzkwNjg3NDA0S0&spJobID=1102388730&spReportId=MTEwMjM4ODczMAS2

Article by China expert Susan Shirk says that China's President Xi is unlikely to want a trade war and would much prefer stability and predictability during a politically sensitive time.

Viscidi, L. and O'Connor, R. (2017), Trump and Latin American Energy, *Foreign Affairs*. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/central-america-caribbean/2017-02-24/trump-and-latin-american-energy>
Says tensions between the US and Latin America will have a particular effect on energy markets.

Voters

Bowman, K. (2016), Understanding the Trump Vote, *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bowmanmar-sico/2016/11/30/understanding-the-trump-vote/#7688037747d3>

Describes demographics of the Trump vote.

Burden, B.C., Crawford, E. and DeCrescenzo, M.G. (2016), The Unexceptional Gender Gap of 2016, *The Forum*, 14(4), 415-432. <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/for.2016.14.issue-4/for-2016-0039/for-2016-0039.xml>

Finds that the gender gap did not matter as much as expected in this election, and that both men and women vacillated in their views, with men shifting away from Clinton and toward Trump just before election day.

Carmines, E.G., Ensley, M.J. and Wagner, M.W. (2016), Ideological Heterogeneity and the Rise of Donald Trump, *The Forum*, 14(4), 385-397. <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/for.2016.14.issue-4/for-2016-0036/for-2016-0036.pdf>

Study finds that populist/nationalist voters played a bigger role in the 2016 election than in past elections.

Jacobs, N. and Ceaser, J. (2016), The 2016 Presidential Election by the Numbers and in Historical Perspective, *The Forum*, 14(4), 361-383. <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/for.2016.14.issue-4/for-2016-0032/for-2016-0032.xml>

Study finds that Trump won by bringing in a different group of voters and in larger numbers, while Clinton expanded on margins in already Democratic counties.

McElwee, S. and McDaniel, J. (2017), Fear of Diversity Made People More Likely to Vote Trump, *The Nation*. <https://www.thenation.com/article/fear-of-diversity-made-people-more-likely-to-vote-trump/>

Study found that racial resentment increased the likelihood that voters who had voted for Obama would switch to Trump.

Porter, E. (2016), Where Were Trump's Votes? Where the Jobs Weren't, *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/13/business/economy/jobs-economy-voters.html>

Says that Trump voters were largely the disenfranchised white working class.

Silver, N. (2016), Education, Not Income, Predicted Who Would Vote For Trump, *FiveThirtyEight*. <http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/education-not-income-predicted-who-would-vote-for-trump/>

Finds that education was a more significant variable than income in determining who voted for Trump.

Tyson, A. and Maniam, S. (2016), Behind Trump's victory: Divisions by race, gender, education, *Pew Research Center*. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/behind-trumps-victory-divisions-by-race-gender-education/>

Overviews key demographics among Trump voters.

Unemployment

Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016), Unemployment rate declines to 4.6 percent in November 2016, *Bureau of Labor Statistics*. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2016/unemployment-rate-declines-to-4-point-6-percent-in-november-2016.htm>

Shows decline of the unemployment rate to 4.6% in November.

Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016), Two-thirds of workers displaced from 2013 to 2015 were reemployed in January 2016, *Bureau of Labor Statistics*. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2016/two-thirds-of-workers-displaced-from-2013-to-2015-were-reemployed-in-january-2016.htm>

Shows there was 15% unemployment in the manufacturing sector and 21.7% not in the labor force.

Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016), Texas lost 26,800 manufacturing jobs over the year ended September 2016, *Bureau of Labor Statistics*. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2016/texas-lost-26800-manufacturing-jobs-over-the-year-ended-september-2016.htm>

Shows a decline in manufacturing of 61k jobs overall; largest declines were in Texas, California and Illinois and largest increases were in Florida, Michigan and Tennessee.

Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016), Eighteen states had lower unemployment rates than U.S. rate in October 2016, *Bureau of Labor Statistics*. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2016/eighteen-states-had-lower-unemployment-rates-than-u-s-rate-in-october-2016.htm>

Shows that many Trump states had less than or average unemployment rates compared to the national average.

Voter perceptions

Easley, J. (2017), Poll: Voters split on Trump's job performance, *The Hill*. <http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/325339-poll-voters-split-on-trumps-job-performance>

Online survey by Harvard-Harris found a 49% approval rating for President Trump overall: 87% among Republicans, 95% among Trump voters, and 59% of whites overall approve of Trump.

Quinnipiac University (2017), Base Erodes As Trump Drops To New Low Scores, Quinnipiac University National Poll Finds; Voters Say 60 - 35 Percent President Is Not Honest, *Quinnipiac University*. <https://poll.qu.edu/national/release-detail?ReleaseID=2442>

Approval ratings for March 22; found an overall 36% favorability rating.

Wall Street

Borak, D. and Williams, H. (2016), Where They Stand on Wall Street, *Wall Street Journal*. <http://graphics.wsj.com/elections/2016/where-do-clinton-and-trump-stand-on-wall-street/>

A pre-election overview of Trump's promises; focuses particularly on implications for hedge fund managers and plans for greater oversight for the Federal Reserve.

Clenfield, J. and Haigh, A. (2017), As Trump charms Wall Street, Robert Shiller gets dot-com déjà vu, *The Globe and Mail*. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-investor/investment-ideas/as-trump-charms-wall-street-robert-shiller-gets-dot-com-deja-vu/article34297673/>

Discusses skepticism by economists who anticipate future anxiety will hit the markets eventually.

Egan, M. (2017), Trump pledges to «do a big number» on Dodd-Frank Wall Street reform, *CNN Money*. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/30/investing/dodd-frank-trump-regulation-banks/index.html?iid=EL>

Discussion of Trump's plans to repeal Dodd-Frank.

Egan, M. (2017), Janet Yellen debunks Trump's case for killing Dodd-Frank, *CNN Money*. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/02/14/investing/janet-yellen-dodd-frank-trump/index.html?iid=EL>

Janet Yellen refutes Trump's claim that Dodd-Frank is responsible for a credit crunch and says repealing it would be a bad idea.

Egan, M. (2017), What Wall Street wants to hear from Trump, *CNN Money*. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/02/28/investing/trump-speech-wall-street-stock-market/>

Discusses policies Wall Street would like Trump to enact, including his promised \$1 trillion infrastructure plan.

Egan, M. (2017), Get ready for Trump's team of Wall Street watchdogs, *CNN Money*. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/03/14/investing/trump-wall-street-regulators-watchdogs/>

Discusses Trump's planned appointments to financial regulatory positions and the positions that he will be able to appoint in the future.

- Imbert, F. (2017), Dow closes above 20,000 for first time as Trump orders send stocks flying, *CNBC*. <http://www.cnbc.com/2017/01/25/us-markets.html>
Discusses Wall Street's favorable reaction to the Trump administration.
- Isidore, C. (2017), Mnuchin promises tax reform will pass by August, *CNN Money*. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/02/23/news/economy/mnuchin-tax-reform/index.html?iid=EL>
Commentary from Steve Mnuchin on promised tax reform.
- Merle, R. and Mufson, S. (2017), Trump signs order to begin rolling back Wall Street regulations, *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/trump-signs-order-to-begin-rolling-back-wall-street-regulations/2017/02/03/650668d8-ea30-11e6-80c2-30e57e57e05d_story.html?utm_term=.a2a248fee281
About the fiduciary rule, with additional commentary from Trump about his plans for Dodd-Frank.
- Nicolaci de Costa, P. (2017), Trump thinks Wall Street regulations are killing America and only Goldman Sachs can save us, *Business Insider*. <http://www.businessinsider.com/difficulties-facing-trump-in-wall-street-deregulation-2017-2>
Overviews challenges to Trump's plans to deregulate Wall Street.
- Vardi, N. (2017), Donald Trump Signals Return Of Wall Street-Friendly Era, *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/nathanvardi/2017/02/03/donald-trump-signals-return-of-wall-street-friendly-era/#495ff8916eb9>
About Trump's plans to deregulate Wall Street, including rollback of Dodd-Frank.
- Vasel, K. (2017), Trump just halted a major rule about retirement advice, *CNN Money*. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/02/03/retirement/trump-executive-order-fiduciary-retirement-rule/>
About Trump's decision to halt the fiduciary rule early on in his presidency.
- White, B. (2017), Wall St. relieved as Trump picks Goldman banker as Treasury deputy, *Politico*. <https://secure.politico.com/blogs/donald-trump-administration/2017/03/wall-st-relieved-as-trump-picks-goldman-banker-as-treasury-deputy-236064>
About Trump's appointment of Goldman Sachs bankers to key economic posts.

White working class

- Achenbach, J. and Keating, D. (2017), New research identifies a «sea of despair» among white working-class Americans, *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/new-research-identifies-a-sea-of-despair-among-white-working-class-americans/2017/03/22/c777ab6e-0da6-11e7-9b0d-d27c98455440_story.html?utm_term=.9722f9bfd142
Overviews research by economists finding sharply rising mortality rates among the white working class.
- Chen, V.T. (2016), All Hollowed Out, *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/01/white-working-class-poverty/424341/>
Overviews a study of mortality among the white working class, situating the start of the crisis period in the late 1990s and the decline of manufacturing jobs and union membership.
- The Data Team (2016), Tracking the fortunes of America's white working-class men, *The Economist*. <http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2017/02/daily-chart-14>
Introduces the Economist's Forgotten Man index, which monitors the labor market performance of white working class men.
- Ehrenfreund, M. and Guo, J. (2016), If you've ever described people as «white working class», read this, *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/11/22/who-exactly-is-the-white-working-class-and-what-do-they-believe-good-questions/?utm_term=.dff0c3a5fcd
Examines key demographics of the white working class.

Hochschild, A. (2016), I spent 5 years with some of Trump's biggest fans. Here's what they won't tell you, *Mother Jones*. <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/08/trump-white-blue-collar-supporters>
Arlie Hochschild summarizes her research among white working class in Louisiana, arguing they are experiencing a loss of morale.

MacGillis, A. and ProPublica (2016), The Original Underclass, *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/09/the-original-underclass/492731/>

Describes the white working class, concluding that the truly bereft white poor did not make up much of the Trump vote, as they don't vote at all.

Williams, J.C. (2016), What So Many People Don't Get About the U.S. Working Class, *Harvard Business Review*. <https://hbr.org/2016/11/what-so-many-people-dont-get-about-the-u-s-working-class>

Says that the white working class resents the professional class and poor while admiring the rich.

BREXIT

Clarke, Harold D., Goodwin, Matthew J. y Whiteley, Paul F. (2017), *Brexit. Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Armstrong, Kenneth A. (2017), *Brexit Time: Leaving the EU*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MACRONISM: THE END OF POLITICAL PARTIES

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Perrineau, Pascal (2017), *Cette France de gauche qui vote FN*, París: Seuil.

Prissette, Nicolas (2017), *Emmanuel Macron. Le président inattendu*, París: First Éditions.

Quémener, Soazig y Duyck, Alexandre (2017), *L'irrésistible ascension. Les dessous d'une présidentielle insensée*, París: Flammarion.

Teinturier, Brice (2017), «Plus rien à faire, plus rien à foutre». *La vraie crise de la démocratie*, París: Robert Laffont.

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Aragón, P., Gallego, H., Laniado, D., Volkovich, Y. y Kaltenbrunner, A. (2017), «Online network organization of Barcelona en Comú, an emergent movement-party», *Computational Social Networks*.

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Feenstra, Ramón A., Casero-Ripollés, Andreu, Tormey, Simon y Keane, John (2017), *Refiguring Democracy: The Spanish Political Laboratory*, Milton: Taylor & Francis.

Guedán, Manuel (ed.) (2017), *Podemos: Una historia colectiva*, Madrid: Ediciones Akal.

Meyenberg, Yolanda (2017), «Disputar la democracia. El caso de Podemos en España», *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, 62(230), 221-241.

Monterde, Arnau, Calleja-López, Antonio, Aguilera, Miguel, Barandiaran, Xabier E. y Postill, John (2015), «Multitudinous identities: a qualitative and network analysis of the 15M collective identity», *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(8), 930-950.

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