

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Illustrations	IV
List of Abbreviations	V
1 Introduction	1
2 Problem Statement and Methodology	5
2.1 Research Questions	6
2.2 Thick Description.....	8
3 Theoretical Background	13
3.1 Towards a Cultural Sociology.....	13
3.1.1 Towards Post-Structuralism.....	14
3.1.2 Towards a Strong Program of Cultural Sociology	16
3.2 A Short History of Civil Society.....	17
3.2.1 The Classical Understanding (Civil Society I).....	18
3.2.2 Marx and Gramsci (Civil Society II).....	20
3.2.3 Renewed Interest in Civil Society (Return to Civil Society I)	23
3.3 Jeffrey C. Alexander – The Civil Sphere (Civil Society III).....	24
3.3.1 Solidarity as the Core Structuring Principle.....	25
3.3.2 The Binary Codes	26
3.3.3 Civil Society as a Sphere among Others	30
3.3.4 The Impact of Social Movements.....	32
3.4 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe – Processes of Hegemony.....	34
3.4.1 Discourse Theoretical Background.....	35
3.4.2 Antagonism and Hegemony	37
3.4.3 Identity and Subject Positions	40
3.4.4 Radical Democracies	42
3.5 Summary: Towards a Connected Application of Theories.....	44

4	The Pegida Movement.....	47
4.1	Phase I: Installation of Narratives about Freedom and Suppression	48
4.1.1	Distinctions between Pegida and HoGeSa	49
4.1.2	Initial Anticivil Classifications	51
4.1.3	Representations: Civil Movement or Anticivil Extremists?.....	53
4.1.4	The 1989-Narrative and the Creation of “the People”	55
4.1.5	The Creation of Oppositions and Alliances.....	60
4.2	Phase II: The Constructed Outsider Status	63
4.2.1	Dismissive Reactions of the National Media and Politics.....	64
4.2.2	The Nodal Point “Islamization”.....	66
4.2.3	Counter-Reactions towards the Chain of Differences	70
4.2.4	Lügenpresse	72
4.2.5	The (In)significance of the Nodal Point “Islamization”	77
4.2.6	The Emergence of a Hegemonic Struggle.....	80
4.3	Phase III: Scandal, Pollution and Fragmentation.....	86
4.3.1	The Resignation and Return of Bachmann.....	86
4.3.2	“Islamization” – Pegida and the Real Existing Civil Society.....	89
4.3.3	“The Islam” as a Constitutive Outside.....	91
4.3.4	The Role of Local Particularities	97
4.4	Phase IV: The Comeback of Pegida	100
4.4.1	The Reapplied Nodal Point.....	101
4.4.2	The Consequences of a Pegida-Party	104
4.4.3	National and International Chains of Equivalences	106
4.5	Towards Phase V? – Summary and Further Considerations	111

5	Discussion.....	117
5.1	Binary Codes as Floating Signifiers.....	117
5.2	Alexander’s Codes as Hegemonic Articulation.....	121
5.3	The Missing “Other” of Alexander’s Binaries.....	125
5.4	Towards a Joint Application.....	132
5.5	Cultural Sociology vs. Political Science.....	135
6	Conclusion.....	141
	Works Cited.....	147
	Print.....	147
	Internet Sources.....	151
	Video Sources.....	160