

Nationalism and Populism: An International Perspective

Fall 2020

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Class hours: TBA
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The past few years have seen a powerful resurgence of both nationalism and populism. The goal of this course is to understand why that resurgence is happening and what it means for the future of democratic politics. The course will trace the historical origins and theoretical underpinnings of both nationalism and populism, as well as looking at recent examples of what can happen at the intersection of populist politics and ethnic nationalism—e.g., Yugoslavia and Rwanda—before moving on to examining the current wave of nationalist populism across the globe, from Brexit and the 2016 election in the U.S. to the rise of nationalist populist leaders in countries as diverse as Hungary, India, the Philippines, and Brazil. Because the recent resurgence of nationalism and populism is almost exclusively a right-wing phenomenon, the course will give particular focus to the rise of the radical right, but will also look at contemporary left-wing populism as well as past left-wing populist movements to help shed light on the present. The course takes an explicitly multidisciplinary approach, using economic, cultural, historical, and political perspectives to explain the nationalism and populist comeback—investigating, among other things, the role of social media, the global rise in economic inequality and its underlying causes, and the slow-motion collapse of the postwar system of international governing institutions. Nationalism and populism are not new phenomena, and this course aims to help students situate them in a larger context in order to better understand their current resurgence.

Google Classroom: The Swedish Program uses the Google Classroom platform for all its courses. On the course Classroom page, you will find the readings, assignments, and lecture notes, as well as links to useful resources for further study. The course platform is also where you will submit your assignments. It also functions as a discussion forum outside of class: you are highly encouraged to participate in extending class discussions by posting questions and links throughout

the semester. I will use the course platform to post links to articles and books that are relevant to the class, as well as reminders of deadlines and questions I have for you as a group outside of class.

Readings: There are four assigned books, listed below. All the additional readings will be available on the course website. The four books are:

John Hutchinson & Anthony Smith, *Nationalism*

Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?*

Cas Mudde, *The Far Right Today*

Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny*

Laptops & phones: I *strongly discourage* the use of laptops in the classroom, even for note-taking. Current research indicates that we are better able to pay attention and retain what we learn if we take notes by hand rather than typing. If that puts an undue burden on you, please let me know: you should be able to use the note-taking method that best helps you learn. I will post all graphs and tables I put up on the board during class to Classroom so that you will have access to them. However, phone use is *strictly prohibited* during class time (unless I explicitly state otherwise).

Grading: Your grade will be calculated according to the following breakdown:

<i>Attendance and participation:</i>	20%
<i>Briefings:</i>	20%
<i>Research project:</i>	60%

Attendance & Participation (20%): Regular attendance is mandatory. An unexcused absence may negatively affect your final grade. Your grade will not be affected if you miss a class due to illness or in the case of a (documented) emergency situation. If you have a personal or family event that conflicts with a class, and cannot be rescheduled, you may ask your instructor for an excused absence. Such a request should be made at least one week prior to the class in question. In addition to attendance, your active participation in class discussions is essential. You should also participate by posting to the course stream in Google Classroom. Please prepare for seminar by writing down the questions you have about the reading or the topic of that day's class.

Briefings (2 x 10%): You will do **two** joint in-class briefings during the semester. Each briefing should introduce the rest of the class to a specific case study—either a country or cluster of countries, a particular nationalist or populist incident, or

some other topic related to the class. The briefings should be about 20 minutes in length.

Research project (60%): All of the assignments outside of class time will be part of a semester-long individual research project on a topic of your choosing. You are **required** to come talk to me about the research project during the first two weeks of the course. This project should be an in-depth investigation of some aspect of nationalism and populism that we do not cover in class. The research project should use and incorporate what you have learned in lecture and through the class readings. To help structure your research, you will have a written research task every few weeks. Guidelines for all of the research tasks will be available on the course website. The research tasks are as follows:

Week 3: Research questions (5%). This is a 1–2-page report stating the questions that will guide your research, as well as a brief introduction to why you want to research this topic. The questions should define your topic and provide a road map for your research.

Week 6: Prospectus (15%). The prospectus is a brief (5–7 pages) statement describing your intended research project. It includes not only a more developed research question, but also a description of your methodology and expected findings, in addition to a tentative bibliography. You will be given a detailed list of what to include to help guide you when writing your prospectus.

Week 9: Literature review (5%). Here you will outline the existing research on your topic by giving short summaries of your most important sources as well as explaining how those sources have contributed to and advanced our understanding of your topic.

Week 11: Outline of findings (5%). At this point, you should have preliminary results for your project—enough to turn in a 1–2 page outline of your final product, focused on presenting your results to date.

Exam week: Final project (30%). Your final research report should be 10–15 pages in length. I will give you a set of guidelines for structuring and formatting your paper, as well as an explanation of the criteria I will use to evaluate your final report.

Course learning outcomes: At the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Demonstrate in-depth knowledge about both general theories and specific case studies of nationalism and populism
- Understand the process of research, from initial idea to final research report
- Prepare a clear and concise collaborative presentation
- Produce a long, rigorous, empirically based research paper

Schedule:

Week 1 *Introduction: Why now? Origins and developments*

Week 2 *Theories of nationalism*

Reading: Hutchinson & Smith, chapters 1, 9, 12, 14, 22, & 23
Bonikowski, "Nationalism in Settled Times"

Week 3 *What is populism?*

Reading: Müller, Introduction + chapters 1 & 2
Mudde, Introduction + chapters 1 & 2
Brubaker, "Why Populism?"

Research task: Research questions

Week 4 *The role of globalization*

Reading: Hutchinson & Smith, chapters 33, 36, 39, & 45
Debaere, "Globalization Under Fire"
Brubaker, "Economic Crisis, Nationalism, and Politicized Ethnicity"

Week 5 *Nationalism, populism, and migration*

Reading: Schain, "Radical-Right Populism and Immigration Policy in Europe and the United States"
Hopkins, "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition"
McLaren, "The Cultural Divide in Europe: Migration, Multiculturalism, and Political Trust"
Becker, "The Global Machine Behind the Rise of Far-Right Nationalism"
Joppke, "Immigration and the Identity of Citizenship: The Paradox of Universalism"

Week 6 *Ethnic conflict: Yugoslavia and Rwanda*

Reading: Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia"
Edmunds, "Illiberal Resilience in Serbia"
Yanagizawa-Drott, "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide"
Clark, "Rwanda: Tragic Land of Dual Nationalisms"

Research task: Prospectus

Week 7 *State capture: Russia and Turkey*

Reading: Robinson & Milne, "Populism and Political Development in Hybrid Regimes"
Rogoza, "Russian Nationalism: Between Imperialism and Xenophobia"
Kolstø, "The Ethnification of Russian Nationalism"
McKernan, "From Reformer to 'New Sultan': Erdoğan's Populist Evolution"
Yilmaz & Bashirov, "The AKP after 15 Years: Emergence of Erdoganism in Turkey"
Rogenhofer, "Antidemocratic Populism in Turkey after the July 2016 Coup Attempt"

Week 8 *From liberal to illiberal democracy: Brazil, Hungary, and Poland*

Reading: Krastev, "The Age of Populism: Reflections on the Self-enmity of Democracy"
Hunter & Power, "Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash"
Müller, "Homo Orbánicus"
Enyedi, "Paternalist Populism and Illiberal Elitism in Central Europe"
Pasięka, "Poland, a 'Normal' European Country"

Week 9 *The internal other: India and the Philippines*

Reading: Hutchinson & Smith, chapters 29 & 31

Rodenbeck, "A Mighty Wind"

Seervai, "The Rising Tide of Intolerance in Narendra Modi's India"

Coronel, "The Vigilante President: How Duterte's Brutal Populism Conquered the Philippines"

Fenton: "Duterte's Last Hurrah: On the Road to Martial Law"

Research task: Literature review

Week 10 *American populism, past and present*

Reading: Mudde, chapters 3-10

Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land* (excerpts)

Bonikowski & DiMaggio, "Varieties of American Popular Nationalism"

Week 11 *Western Europe: Left, right, and Brexit*

Reading: Garton Ash, "Is Europe Disintegrating?"

Berman & Snegovaya, "Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy"

Quintas da Silva, "A Portuguese Exception to Right-Wing Populism"

Nestler & Rohgalf, "The Alternative Für Deutschland and the Rise of Eurosceptic Populism in Germany"

Stavrakakis, "Left-Wing Populism in the European Periphery: The Case of SYRIZA"

Kioupkiolis, "Podemos: The Ambiguous Promises of Left-Wing Populism in Contemporary Spain"

Ford & Goodwin, "A Nation Divided"

Research task: Outline of findings

Week 12 *Conclusion: Democracy and authoritarianism*

Reading: Snyder, all

Müller, chapter 3 + conclusion

Browning, "The Suffocation of Democracy"

Levitsky & Ziblatt, "This Is How Democracies Die"

Exam week **Final project due!**