

McGill University
Winter 2024

POLI 339

NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY, AND THE RADICAL RIGHT IN EUROPE

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Class meets: Tue and Thu, 4:05 pm to 5:25 pm
Class location: BIRKS 203

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Office hours: Fri, 10:30 am to 11:30 am
Office location: LEA 330

MyCourses page:
<https://mycourses2.mcgill.ca/d2l/home/687345>

Course Description and Objectives

What is the impact of ethnic nationalism on European politics and the rise of the radical right? This course offers answers from nationalism studies and empirical political science. The first part of the course explains key concepts and theories about the emergence and history of nationalism. The second part highlights the ethnic components of nationalism and their contribution to radical right attitudes, such as hostility to immigration or minority groups. The third part considers contemporary expressions of ethnic nationalism and the emergence of radical right parties, as well as their interaction with other political forces such as conservative and centre-left parties.

Objectives:

- Become familiar with the main theories and debates in the study of nationalism and the radical right. Relate them to other topics in political science.
- Learn to apply the theoretical lenses to case studies drawn from Western Europe, the Balkans, and the former USSR.
- Be able to navigate empirical political science, including new research in thematic sub-field journals on nation and ethnicity.

Prerequisites: POLI 211, POLI 212, any other political science course or instructor permission

Credits: 3

Course Materials and Communication

Readings: This course uses a combination of journal articles and book chapters. Readings are available via MyCourses or via McGill Library.

Slides: Lectures will be accompanied by PowerPoint presentations; the slides will be made available to students via MyCourses.

Communication: I can be reached via email and during office hours. We can also arrange a zoom meeting within the office hours, but you need to notify me in advance. If you have a lengthy question, please ask during my office hours instead of emailing.

Assessment

Online Midterm Exam (30%): 80-minute online exam with questions on the first half of the course (weeks 2 to 7).

Research Paper Proposal (20%): Two-page proposal for an imaginary research paper on a topic related nationalism and ethnicity. Students do not need to write the full paper.

Online Final Exam (40%): 180-minute online open-book exam with cumulative questions (weeks 2 to 13).

Participation (10%): Attend the lectures and participate in discussions in the second half of the class.

Further instructions about the exams and the group project are available on MyCourses. Late submissions are subject to point reduction. Students must physically attend classes. There are no separate conferences. Instead of having grades weighted at 30% for the Midterm and 20% for the Proposal, students may apply to have 20% for the Midterm and 30% for the Proposal.

Special dates:

Feb 15 – Online mid-term, no in-person class.

Mar 31 – Deadline to submit two-page research paper proposal.

After Apr 15 – Online final exam.

Course and University Policies

Language of Submission: Conformément à [la Charte des droits de l'étudiant](#) de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté, sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue. (Énoncé approuvé par le Sénat le 21 janvier 2009).

In accord with McGill University's [Charter of Students' Rights](#), students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French written work that is to be graded. This does not apply to courses in which acquiring proficiency in a language is one of the objectives. (Approved by Senate on 21 January 2009).

Academic Integrity: McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the [Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures](#) (Approved by Senate on 29 January 2003) (See [McGill's guide to academic honesty](#) for more information).

Generative AI: Learning to synthesize and evaluate readings independently is a fundamental goal of this course. Students may not copy or paraphrase directly from any generative artificial intelligence applications, including ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants, for the purpose of completing assignments in this course.

Special Needs: As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the [Office for Students with Disabilities](#), 514-398-6009.

Copyright of Lectures: All slides, video recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the instructor's intellectual property. As such, you may use these only for your own learning ends. You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials; doing so may violate the instructor's intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action.

Land acknowledgment: McGill University is on land which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous people whose footsteps have marked this territory on which peoples of the world now gather.

Course Evaluations: End-of-course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the student's learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for results to be available to students.

Schedule of Lectures and Readings

*** Note: readings may be subject to minor change ***

Week 1. Jan 4 – Introduction

[Article] Mylonas, H., & Tudor, M. (2021). Nationalism: What We Know and What We Still Need to Know. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24(1), 109–132.

Week 2. Jan 9, Jan 11 – Theories of nationalism

[Chapter] Gellner, E. in Hutchinson, J., & Smith, A. D. (1994). *Nationalism (Oxford Readers)*. Oxford University Press, 55-69.

[Chapter] Chapter 2. Smith, A. D. (2009). *Ethno-symbolism and nationalism: A cultural approach*. Routledge, 23-41.

[Chapter] Chapter 2. Özkırımlı, U. (2010). *Theories of nationalism: A critical introduction* (2nd ed). Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 3. Jan 16, Jan 18 – Typologies of nationalism

[Article] Yack, B. (1996). The myth of the civic nation. *Critical Review*, 10(2), 193–211.

[Chapter] Chapter 7. Marx, A. W. (2005). *Faith in nation: Exclusionary origins of nationalism*. Oxford University Press.

[Article] Simonsen, K. B., & Bonikowski, B. (2020). Is civic nationalism necessarily inclusive? Conceptions of nationhood and anti-Muslim attitudes in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 59(1), 114–136.

Week 4. Jan 23, Jan 25 – Nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe

[2 Chapters] Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. ed). Verso, 67-113.

[Chapter] Breuilly, J. "Nationalism and National Unification in Nineteenth-Century Europe." in Breuilly, J. (Ed.). (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.

[Article] Posen, B. (1993). Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power. *International Security*, 18(2), 80–124.

Week 5. Jan 30, Feb 1 – Nationalism in historical narratives

[Article] Subotić, J. (2013) "Stories states tell: Identity, narrative, and human rights in the Balkans." *Slavic Review*, 72(2), 306-326.

[Chapter] Chapter 6. Kaufman, S. J. (2001). *Modern hatreds: The symbolic politics of ethnic war*. Cornell University Press.

[Chapter] Goode, P. "Everyday Patriotism and Ethnicity in Today's Russia" in Kolstø, P., & Blakkisrud, H. (Eds.). (2018). *Russia before and after Crimea: Nationalism and identity 2010-17*. Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 258-277.

[Article] Lubbers, M. (2019). What kind of nationalism sets the radical right and its electorate apart from the rest? Pride in the nation's history as part of nationalist nostalgia. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25(2), 449-466.

Week 6. Feb 6, Feb 8 – Case study: nationalism in post-Soviet Russia

[Article] Shevel, O. (2011). Russian Nation-building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic or Purposefully Ambiguous? *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63(2), 179–202.

[Chapter] Kolstø, P. “The ethnification of Russian nationalism” in Kolstø, P., & Blakkisrud, H. (Eds.). (2016). *The new Russian nationalism: Imperialism, ethnicity and authoritarianism 2000-15*. Edinburgh University Press, 18-46.

[Chapter] Ponarin, E. and Komin, M. “Imperial and ethnic nationalism: A dilemma of the Russian elite” in Kolstø, P., & Blakkisrud, H. (Eds.). (2018). *Russia before and after Crimea: Nationalism and identity 2010-17*. Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 50-65.

[Article] Laruelle, M. (2016). The three colors of Novorossiia, or the Russian nationalist mythmaking of the Ukrainian crisis. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 32(1), 55–74.

Week 7. Feb 13 – Nationalism and mobilization

[Chapter] “The Tide of Nationalism and Mobilization Cycles” in Beissinger, M. R. (2002). *Nationalist mobilization and the collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge University Press.

[Article] Beissinger, M. R. (2013). The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine’s Orange Revolution. *American Political Science Review*, 107(3), 574–592.

***** Feb 15 – Mid-term *****

Week 8. Feb 20, Feb 22 – Ethnicity and ethnic conflict

[Article] Roth, W. D. (2016). The multiple dimensions of race. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(8), 1310–1338.

[2 Chapters] Chapter 2, Chapter 5. Horowitz, D. L. (2003). *The deadly ethnic riot*. University of California Press.

[Chapter] Posen, B. (2018). “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict” in Michael E. Brown, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*. Princeton University Press, 103-124.

Week 9. Feb 27, Feb 29 – Ethnic diversity and immigration

[Article] Dinesen, P. T., Schaeffer, M., & Sønderskov, K. M. (2020). Ethnic Diversity and Social Trust: A Narrative and Meta-Analytical Review. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23(1), 441–465.

[Article] Aarøe, L., Petersen, M. B., & Arceneaux, K. (2017). The Behavioral Immune System Shapes Political Intuitions: Why and How Individual Differences in Disgust Sensitivity Underlie Opposition to Immigration. *American Political Science Review*, 111(2), 277–294.

[Article] Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2014). Public Attitudes Toward Immigration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17(1), 225–249.

[Article] Dinas, E., Fouka, V., & Schläpfer, A. (2021). Family History and Attitudes toward Out-Groups: Evidence from the European Refugee Crisis. *The Journal of Politics*, 83(2), 647–661.

***** Week of Mar 5 to Mar 7 – Reading break, no classes *****

Week 10. Mar 12, Mar 14 – Historical extreme right and fascism

[Chapter] Chapter 2. Bobbio, N. (1996). *Left and right: The significance of a political distinction*. Polity Press.

[Chapter] Chapter 2. Griffin, R. (1993). *The nature of fascism*. Routledge, 26-56.

[Chapter] Chapter 10. Ziblatt, D. (2017). *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Modern Democracy in Europe (1st ed.)*. Cambridge University Press, 334-363.

[Article] Acemoglu, D., De Feo, G., De Luca, G., & Russo, G. (2022). War, Socialism, and the Rise of Fascism: An Empirical Exploration. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 137(2), 1233–1296.

Week 11. Mar 19, Mar 21 – Radical right parties and attitudes

[Article] Ignazi, P. (1992). *The silent counter-revolution: Hypotheses on the emergence of extreme right-wing parties in Europe*. *European Journal of Political Research*, 22(1), 3–34.

[Article] Golder, M. (2016). Far Right Parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19(1), 477–497.

[Article] Rooduijn, M. (2018). What unites the voter bases of populist parties? Comparing the electorates of 15 populist parties. *European Political Science Review*, 10(3), 351–368.

[Article] Foa, R. S., & Mounk, Y. (2019). Youth and the populist wave. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 45(9–10), 1013–1024.

Week 12. Mar 26, Mar 28 – Religion, conservatism, and the radical right

[Article] Brubaker, R. (2017). Between nationalism and civilizationism: the European populist moment in comparative perspective. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(8), 1191–1226.

[Article] Spierings, N., Lubbers, M., & Zaslove, A. (2017). ‘Sexually modern nativist voters’: Do they exist and do they vote for the populist radical right? *Gender and Education*, 29(2), 216–237.

[Chapter] Givens, T. E. (2016). The radical right gender gap. In *The Populist Radical Right* (pp. 308-326). Routledge.

***** Mar 31 – Deadline to submit two-page paper proposal *****

Week 13. Apr 2, Apr 4 – Changing cleavages and the radical right vote

[Article] Vachudova, M. A. (2021). Populism, Democracy, and Party System Change in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24(1), 471–498.

[Article] Dinas, E., & Riera, P. (2018). Do European Parliament Elections Impact National Party System Fragmentation? *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(4), 447–476.

[Article] Gethin, A., Martínez-Toledano, C., & Piketty, T. (2021). Brahmin Left Versus Merchant Right: Changing Political Cleavages in 21 Western Democracies, 1948–2020. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 137(1), 1–48.

[Article] Ballard-Rosa, C., Malik, M. A., Rickard, S. J., & Scheve, K. (2021). The Economic Origins of Authoritarian Values: Evidence From Local Trade Shocks in the United Kingdom. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(13), 2321–2353.

Week 14. Apr 9 – Revision and Conclusion

***** Apr 11 – No Class, McGill Thursday schedule is replaced with Monday schedule *****

***** April 17 – Online final exam from 9 am to noon *****