Nationalism and the Radical Right

Dr Agnieszka Pasieka agnieszka.m.pasieka@dartmouth.edu Winter 2019

Time: MWF 8:50-9:55. X-Hour Th 9:05-9:55

Office hours: t.b.a.

Course description

This course will introduce you to the recent contributions within social sciences devoted to the subject of neo-nationalism and radical right-wing activism. Having begun with a discussion on the terminology, historical context and methodological approaches to radical right, we will proceed to an analysis of recent socio-political developments, focusing on the interrelationship between radical right-wing politics and activism and other social phenomena, such as religion, gender, class, ethnicity. We will interrogate the reasons behind the appeal of the far right, inquiring into various socio-economic contexts of the new right upsurge, the role of historical narratives in shaping far-right activism, as well as the question of the "mainstreaming" of far-right ideas. An overarching question for all these discussions will be that of the agency and motivations of the actors involved.

As the course puts a strong emphasis on comparison, we will draw cases from numerous contexts around the world and we will reflect on similar developments on the left side of the political spectrum. In addressing issues which lie at heart of current debates well beyond the academia, the course will allow space for discussion of the most recent developments, as experienced by class attendees and reported by mass media. In discussing them, we will reach for conceptual apparatus and comparative insights from the literature discussed in the class. Last but not least, we will discuss ethical aspects of studying right-wing (and, for that matter, any political) radicalism.

Course requirements

• Critical commentaries (25%)

You will be expected to provide 15 short (1 page long) commentaries on the readings assigned, answering one of the suggested questions (to be discussed during the first class). Commentaries need to be submitted online by 6 a.m. on the day of the class.

• Classroom participation (20%)

Participation in the class is obligatory. You will be expected to take part in the

discussions based on the readings assigned and to contribute to the group work.

• <u>Final paper (30%)</u>

By the end of the semester you will submit an essay (circa 4000 words), either a research paper or a critical literature review.

• Exam (25%)

The exam will be based on the analysis of the monographs listed below. It will be an in-class examination and you will be able to use books.

Honor Principle: The exam, research paper and critical commentaries will be conducted in accord with the principles of academic honor detailed in "Dartmouth's Organization, Regulations and Courses" and in the *Student Handbook*.

Students with Disabilities: I strongly encourage students with any disabilities to visit me during my office hours or set up an appointment to discuss any necessary accommodations and adjustments.

Obligatory readings:

- Blee, Kathleen. 2003. *Inside Organized Racism. Women in the Hate Movement* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sniderman, Paul M. and Louk Hagendoor. 2009. When Ways of Life Collide. Multiculturalism and Its Discontents in the Netherlands. Princeton: University Press.
- Bowen, John. 2008. *Why French Don't Like the Headscarves. Islam, the State, and Public Space.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Barrett-Fox, Rebecca. 2016. *God Hates. Westboro Baptist Church, American Nationalism, and the Religious Right.* University of Kansas Press.
- Berezin, Mabel. 1997. *Making the Fascist Self. The Political Culture of Interwar Italy.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Course schedule

Apart from assigned monographs, the reading list includes articles which correspond with and supplement the lecture's theme.

Week 1: Introduction to the course: key concepts, key actors

• Class 1, January 7: Introduction. Terms and definitions

(introductory class - no readings)

• Class 2, January 9: Variety of far-right phenomena

Rydgren, Jens. 2007. The Sociology of the Radical Right. *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 241–62.

• Class 3, January 11: Nationalism and radical right: a necessary connection?

Gingrich, André. 2006. Neo-nationalism and the reconfiguration of Europe. *Social Anthropology* 14 (2): 195–217.

Week 2: Historical context

Class 4, January 14: A genealogy of the extreme right

Durkheim, Emil. 1984 [1933]. *The Division of Labor in Society* (Chapters 2 and 3).

Berlin, Isaac. 2013 [1955]. The Counter-Enlightenment. In his *Against the Current*. Princeton University Press, pp. 1-24.

• Class 5, January 16: Fascism and neofascism

Mann, Michael. 2004. *Fascists*. Cambridge University Press (Introduction)

• Class 6, January 18: White supremacy and racial discrimination

Blee, Inside Organized Racism (Part I)

Week 3: Methodological approaches

• Class 7, X-Date (** No class on January 21 **): Empathy walls?

Blee, Kathleen. 1993. Evidence, Empathy and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan. *Journal of American History* 80(2): 596–606.

• Class 8, January 23: Radical right as/and society's Others

Harding, Susan. 1991. Representing fundamentalism: The problem of the repugnant cultural other. *Social Research* 58(2): 373-54.

• Class 9, January 25: The local and the transnational

Doerr, Nicole. 2017. Bridging language barriers, bonding against immigrants: A visual case study of transnational network publics created by far-right activists in Europe. *Discourse and Society* 28(1): 3-23.

Week 4: Religious and cultural fundamentalism

• Class 10, January 28: Multiculturalism and immigration

Orr, Zvika. 2011. Imposed Politics of Cultural Differences: Managed Multiculturalism in Israeli Civil Society. *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 55(3): 74-92.

• Class 11, January 30: Race, ethnicity, culture

Stolcke, Verena. 1995. *Talking Culture*: New Boundaries, New Rhetorics of Exclusion in Europe. *Current Anthropology* 36(1): 1-24.

• Class 12, February 1: Religion and secularism

Bowen, Why French Don't Like Headscarves (Part I)

Week 5: Gender and sexuality

• Class 13, February 4: Right-wing feminism

Petterson, Katarina. 2017. Ideological dilemmas of female populist radical right politicians. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 24(1) 7–22.

• Class 14, February 6: Pro-life activism

Munson, Ziad 2008. *The Making of Pro-life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works.* Chicago: Chicago University Press (Chapters 1 and 7)

• Class 15, February 8: Homophobia and homonationalism

Barrett-Fox, *God Hates* (Chapter 4)
Bowen, *Why French Don't Like Headscarves* (Chapter 9)

Week 6: Bad civil society?

• Class 16, February 11: Grassroots right-wing mobilization

Skocpol, Theda and Vanessa Williamson. 2012. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism.* New York: Oxford University Press (Chapters 1 and 2)

• Class 17, February 13: Resistance and protest

Fabricant, Nicole 2009. Performative Politics: The Camba Countermovement in Eastern Bolivia. *American Ethnologist* 36(4): 768-783.

• Class 18, February 15: Consumers and producers

Molnar, Virag 2016. Civil society, radicalism and the rediscovery of mythic nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism* 22(1): 165–185.

Week 7: Violence and militarism

• Class 19, February 18: Right-wing terrorism

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2014. Who or what to blame: Competing interpretations of the Norwegian terrorist attack. *European Journal of Sociology* 55 (2): 275–294.

• Class 20, February 20: Guardians of the nation

Documentary "Golden dawn: a personal affair" (dir. Angelique Kourounis)

• Class 21, February 22: Scapegoating and othering

Sehgal, Meera 2007. Manufacturing a Feminized Siege Mentality. Hindu Nationalist Paramilitary Camps for Women in India. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36(2): 165-183.

Week 8: Radical right, past and present

• Class 22, February 25: Weight of the past

Macdonald, Sharon. 2006. Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12(1): 9-28.

• Class 23, February 27: Radical right and anti-Semitism

Documentary "Keep it quiet" (dir. Joseph Martin)

• Class 24, March 1: Old heroes for new times?

Berezin, Making the Fascist Self

** FINAL PAPER DUE **

Week 9: Searching for causes

• Class 25, March 4: It's all about class?

Thorleifsson, Cathrine 2016. From coal to Ukip: the struggle over identity in post-industrial Doncaster, *History and Anthropology* 27(5): 555-568

• Class 26, March 6: Dangerous youth? Agents of/against globalization

Grimm, Robert and Hilary Pilkington 2015. Loud and proud: youth and the politics of silencing. *The Sociological Review* 63(S2): 206–230.

Hemment, Julie. 2012. Nashi, Youth Voluntarism, and Potemkin NGOs: Making Sense of Civil Society in Post-Soviet Russia. *Slavic Review* 71(2): 234-260.

• Class 27, March 8: Left, right, and beyond

Ghodsee, Kristen. 2008. Left Wing, Right Wing, Everything: Xenophobia, Neototalitarianism and Populist Politics in Contemporary Bulgaria. *Problems of Postcommunism* 55(3): 26-39.

Week 10: Conclusion of the course

March 13: IN-CLASS EXAM