

# Nationalism and International Order

MPhil Module Course Guide  
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## Course Description

The demise of the nation-state and the disappearance of nationalism have been predicted on many occasions, yet they stubbornly refuse to fade away. If anything, the last decade has witnessed an intensification of nationalist rhetoric and a recentring of the nation-state in international politics through practices such as nation-state wall-building and national lockdowns. This course explores the past, present, and possible futures of nationalism and the nation-state from the vantage point of international order. By the end of the course, students will have acquired an excellent understanding of the historical origins and development of nationalism as well as the analytical tools needed to think and write critically about contemporary nationalism.

The course is organised into seven seminars of 90-120 minutes. Seminar 1 provides an introduction to the study of nationalism and international order. The remaining six seminars are then loosely clustered into three thematically related pairings. Seminars 2 and 3 are concerned with the historical origins of nationalism and the rise of the nation-state, mainly in the European context. Seminars 4 and 5 shift the focus to the global imperial framework within which the European system of nation-states was embedded and examine the tangled relationship between nationalism, empire, and race from the nineteenth century to the present day. Seminars 6 and 7 consider the future of nationalism and international order by engaging with contemporary debates about globalisation and populism.

## Course Outline

Week 1. Nationalism and International Order

Week 2. Nationalism and Modernity

Week 3. Nationalism and the State

Week 4. Nationalism and Empire

Week 5. Nationalism and Race

Week 6. Nationalism and Globalisation

Week 7. Nationalism and Populism

## **Teaching and Assessment Format**

The readings for each week are divided into core readings and supplementary readings. Students are expected to have read all of the core readings thoroughly in advance of the seminar and to participate actively in the discussion. Supplementary readings are intended as a guide for students who wish to explore a particular topic in greater depth and may also be useful when writing the assessment essay. The course will be assessed by one 3,000-word essay.

In addition to the weekly readings, the background readings below can serve as useful reference points for contextualising some of the issues discussed in seminars. Having at least one of these on hand is recommended if you do not have prior experience studying nationalism or international relations. You can consult them as needed before or during the course.

## **Background Readings on Nationalism**

- Breuilly, John, ed. 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Dieckhoff, Alain, and Christophe Jaffrelot, eds. 2005. *Revisiting Nationalism: Theories and Processes*. Hurst.
- Hearn, Jonathan. 2006. *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Özkirimli, Umut. 2017. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. 3rd Edition. Palgrave Macmillan.

## **Background Readings on International Relations**

- Baylis, John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, eds. 2017. *The Globalization of World Politics*. 7th Edition. Oxford University Press.
- Dunne, Tim, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds. 2010. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press.
- Jackson, Robert, and Georg Sørensen. 2010. *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal, eds. 2010. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford University Press.

## Week 1. Nationalism and International Order

This seminar provides an introductory overview of the course and sets the scene for the subsequent seminars. The focus of the seminar is on the meaning of nationalism and how its relationship to international order has been theorised by scholars of International Relations.

### Core Readings

- Barkin, J. Samuel, and Bruce Cronin. 1994. 'The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations', *International Organization*, 48:1, 107-130.
- Barrington, Lowell. 1997. "'Nation" and "Nationalism": The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science', *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 30:4, 712-716.
- Mayall, James. 1990. *Nationalism and International Society*. Cambridge University Press. [Introduction and Chapters 1-4]
- Morgenthau, Hans. 1957. 'The Paradoxes of Nationalism', *The Yale Review*, 46:4, 481-496.

### Supplementary Readings

- Agnew, John. 1994. 'The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory', *Review of International Political Economy*, 1:1, 53-80.
- Berenskoetter, Felix. 2014. 'Parameters of a National Biography', *European Journal of International Relations*, 20:1, 262-288.
- Blaney, David L., and Naeem Inayatullah. 2004. *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*. Routledge.
- Bull, Hedley. 2012. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. 4th Edition. Macmillan.
- Carr, E. H. 1945. *Nationalism and After*. Macmillan.
- Chernilo, Daniel. 2010. 'Methodological Nationalism and the Domestic Analogy: Classical Resources for their Critique', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 23:1, 87-106.
- Connor, Walker. 1978. 'A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a...', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1:4, 377-400.
- Griffiths, Martin, and Michael Sullivan. 1997. 'Nationalism and International Relations Theory', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 43:1, 53-66.
- Heiskanen, Jaakko. 2019. 'Spectra of Sovereignty: Nationalism and International Relations', *International Political Sociology*, 13:3, 315-332.
- Lebow, Richard Ned. 2016. *National Identities and International Relations*. Cambridge University Press.

- Mearsheimer, John J. 2011. 'Kissing Cousins: Nationalism and Realism', unpublished paper prepared for the Yale Workshop on International Relations, available online at <https://www.mearsheimer.com/publications/>.
- Morgenthau, Hans. 2006. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 7th Edition. McGraw-Hill.
- Phillips, Andrew, and Christian Reus-Smit, eds. 2020. *Culture and Order in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Reus-Smit, Christian. 2017. 'Cultural Diversity and International Order', *International Organization*, 71:4, 851-885.
- Tang, Shiping. 2016. 'Order: A Conceptual Analysis', *Chinese Political Science Review*, 1:1, 30-46.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1994. 'Hypotheses on Nationalism and War', *International Security*, 18:4, 5-39.
- Walker, R. B. J. 1993. *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2002. 'Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences', *Global Networks*, 2:4, 301-334.

## Week 2. Nationalism and Modernity

When did nations and nationalism emerge? Some argue that the existence of nations stretches back into the mists of time, while others claim that they are modern phenomena that were invented in the nineteenth century or even later. Still others have pointed to the medieval or early modern period as the watershed. This seminar examines some of the contrasting claims surrounding the origins of nations and their significance for understanding international order.

### Core Readings

- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. Verso. [Chapters 1-3]
- Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell. [Chapters 1-4]
- Gorski, Philip. 2000. 'The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism', *American Journal of Sociology*, 105:5, 1428-1468.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Blackwell. [Introduction and Chapters 1 and 6]

### Supplementary Readings

- Armstrong, John. 1982. *Nations Before Nationalism*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Balibar, Étienne. 1990. 'The Nation Form: History and Ideology', *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 13:3, 329-361.
- Bartelson, Jens. 2009. *Visions of World Community*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bukovansky, Mlada. 1999. 'The Altered State and the State of Nature: The French Revolution and International Politics', *Review of International Studies*, 25:2, 197-216.
- Carvalho, Benjamin de. 2014. 'The Confessional State in International Politics: Tudor England, Religion, and the Eclipse of Dynasticism', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 25:3, 407-431.
- Connor, Walker. 1990. 'When is a Nation?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13:1, 92-103.
- Greenfeld, Liah. 1996. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Harvard University Press.
- Hastings, Adrian. 1997. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hirschi, Caspar. 2012. *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., and Terence Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

- Hroch, Miroslav. 1985. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ichijo, Atsuko. 2020. 'Kokugaku and an Alternative Account of the Emergence of Nationalism of Japan', *Nations and Nationalism*, 26:1, 263-282.
- Kedourie, Elie. 1960. *Nationalism*. Hutchinson.
- Marx, Anthony W. 2003. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Matin, Kamran. 2020. 'Deciphering the Modern Janus: Societal Multiplicity and Nation-Formation', *Globalizations*, 17:3, 436-451.
- Roshwald, Aviel. 2006. *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas*. Cambridge University Press.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. 1977. *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*. Methuen.
- Sewell, William. 2004. 'The French Revolution and the Emergence of the Nation Form', in Michael Morrison and Melinda Zook, eds, *Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World*, Rowman & Littlefield, 91-126.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*. Routledge.
- Taylor, Charles. 1999. 'Nationalism and Modernity', in Ronald Beiner, ed., *Theorizing Nationalism*, State University of New York Press, 219-246.
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2002. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. Cambridge University Press.

## Week 3. Nationalism and the State

Today, it has become commonplace to use the terms 'nation' and 'state' interchangeably. The United Nations, for example, is an organisation of sovereign states. The purpose of this seminar is to shed some light on the sources of this conflation by taking a closer look at the role of the state in the historical development of nationalism.

### Core Readings

- Breuilly, John. 1993. *Nationalism and the State*. 2nd Edition. Manchester University Press. [Introduction and Conclusion]
- Rejai, Mostafa, and Cynthia Enloe. 1969. 'Nation-States and State-Nations', *International Studies Quarterly*, 13:2, 140-158.
- Tilly, Charles. 1985. 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds, *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge University Press, 169-191.
- Yack, Bernard. 2001. 'Popular Sovereignty and Nationalism', *Political Theory*, 29:4, 517-536.

### Supplementary Readings

- Abizadeh, Arash. 2012. 'On the Demos and Its Kin: Nationalism, Democracy, and the Boundary Problem', *The American Political Science Review*, 106:4, 867-882.
- Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. Sage.
- Branch, Jordan. 2013. *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press.
- Canovan, Margaret. 1996. *Nationhood and Political Thought*. Edgar Elgar.
- Connor, Walker. 1972. 'Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?', *World Politics*, 24:3, 319-355.
- Connor, Walker. 1981. 'Nationalism and Political Illegitimacy', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 8:2, 201-228.
- Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. 'Sovereignty and the Nation: Constructing the Boundaries of National Identity', in Thomas Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, eds, *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, Cambridge University Press, 121-147.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1985. *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Polity Press.
- Jackson, Robert. 1990. *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mandelbaum, Moran. 2020. *The Nation/State Fantasy: A Psychoanalytical Genealogy of Nationalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Mann, Michael. 2005. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rae, Heather. 2002. *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples*. Cambridge University Press.
- Snyder, Jack L. 2000. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. Norton.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton University Press.
- Tamir, Yael. 1993. *Liberal Nationalism*. Princeton University Press.
- Ther, Philipp. 2014. *The Dark Side of Nation-States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe*. Berghahn.
- Tilly, Charles, ed. 1975. *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton University Press.



## Week 4. Nationalism and Empire

Nationalism is typically associated with the political form of the state, yet states coexisted with imperial arrangements deep into the twentieth century. This seminar looks at the role that European imperialism played in the globalisation of the nation-state and how nationalism has been invoked to serve both imperialist and anti-imperialist ends.

### Core Readings

- Arendt, Hannah. 1945. 'Imperialism, Nationalism, Chauvinism', *The Review of Politics*, 7:4, 441-463.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* Zed Books. [Chapters 1-2]
- Getachew, Adom. 2019. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton University Press. [Introduction and Chapter 1]
- Spanu, Maja. 2020. 'The Hierarchical Society: The Politics of Self-Determination and the Constitution of New States after 1919', *European Journal of International Relations*, 26:2, 372-396.

### Supplementary Readings

- Aydin, Cemil. 2007. *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*. Columbia University Press.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton University Press.
- Cheah, Pheng. 2003. *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation*. Columbia University Press.
- Fanon, Franz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press.
- Goebel, Michael. 2015. *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third-World Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Goswami, Manu. 2002. 'Rethinking the Modular Nation Form: Toward a Sociohistorical Conception of Nationalism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44:4, 770-799.
- Goswami, Manu. 2004. *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*. University of Chicago Press.
- Healy, Roísín, and Enrico Dal Lago. 2014. *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kadioğlu, Ayşe. 1996. 'The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32:2, 177-193.
- Keene, Edward. 2002. *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

- Long, David, and Brian C. Schmidt, eds. 2005. *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations*. State University of New York Press.
- Manela, Erez. 2007. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Mazower, Mark. 2008. *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*. Princeton University Press.
- Rao, Rahul. 2010. *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World*. Oxford University Press.
- Todorova, Maria. 2005. 'The Trap of Backwardness: Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern European Nationalism', *Slavic Review*, 64:1, 140-164.
- Zarakol, Ayşe. 2011. *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West*. Cambridge University Press.

## Week 5. Nationalism and Race

Scholars of international relations have recently started to recognise the central role of race and racism in structuring not only politics among nations, but also the theoretical toolkit through which they have analysed world politics. This seminar considers the interconnections between race, nationalism, and international order in both the past and the present.

### Core Readings

- Balibar, Étienne. 1991. 'Racism and Nationalism', in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Verso, 37-67.
- Buzas, Zoltan. 2021. 'Racism and Anti-Racism in the Liberal International Order', *International Organization*, 75:2, 440-463.
- Nisancioglu, Kerem. 2020. 'Racial Sovereignty', *European Journal of International Relations*, 26:S1, 39-63.
- Younis, Musab. 2017. "'United by Blood": Race and Transnationalism During the Belle Époque', *Nations and Nationalism*, 23:3, 484-504.

### Supplementary Readings

- Anievas, Alexander, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam, eds. 2015. *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. Routledge.
- Bell, Duncan. 2020. *Dreamworlds of Race: Empire and the Utopian Destiny of Anglo-America*. Princeton University Press.
- Blatt, Jessica. 2018. *Race and the Making of American Political Science*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1993. 'The Bounds of "Race" in International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 22:3, 443-461.
- Fredrickson, George M. 2002. *Racism: A Short History*. Princeton University Press.
- Füredi, Frank. 1998. *The Silent War: Imperialism and the Changing Perception of Race*. Pluto Press.
- Henderson, Errol A. 2017. 'The Revolution Will Not Be Theorised: Du Bois, Locke, and the Howard School's Challenge to White Supremacist IR Theory', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 45:3, 492-510.
- Hobson, John M. 2012. *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. 2008. 'Race in the Ontology of International Order', *Political Studies*, 56:4, 907-927.
- Krishna, Sankaran. 2001. 'Race, Amnesia, and the Education of International Relations', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 26:4, 401-424.

- Mosse, George L. 1995. 'Racism and Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism* 1:2, 163-173.
- Sajed, Alina, Branwed Gruffydd Jones, Aida A. Hozic, Olivia Umurerwa Rutazibwa, Naeem Inayatullah, and John M. Hobson. 2016. 'Race and International Relations – What's in a Word?', *Postcolonial Studies* 19:2, 168-226.
- Shilliam, Robbie. 2006. 'What About Marcus Garvey? Race and the Transformation of the Sovereignty Debate', *Review of International Studies*, 32:3, 379-400.
- Thakur, Vineet, and Peter Vale. 2020. *South Africa, Race and the Making of International Relations*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tinker, Hugh. 1977. *Race, Conflict and the International Order: From Empire to United Nations*. Macmillan.
- Vitalis, Robert. 2015. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press.
- Vucetic, Srdjan. 2011. 'A Racialized Peace? How Britain and the US Made Their Relationship Special', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 7:4, 403-422.
- Younis, Musab. 2018. 'Race, the World and Time: Haiti, Liberia and Ethiopia (1914-1945)', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 46:3, 352-370.

## Week 6. Nationalism and Globalisation

Are nationalism and globalisation conflicting or complementary phenomena? Does globalisation entail the demise of the nation-state? This seminar considers the future prospects of nationalism and the nation-state in a globalising world.

### Core Readings

- Bartelson, Jens. 2000. 'Three Concepts of Globalization', *International Sociology*, 15:2, 180-196.
- Beck, Ulrich. 2007. 'The Cosmopolitan Condition: Why Methodological Nationalism Fails', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 24:7/8, 286-290.
- Malešević, Siniša. 2019. *Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis*. Cambridge University Press. [Introduction and Chapter 10]
- Walby, Sylvia. 2003. 'The Myth of the Nation-State: Theorizing Society and Politics in a Global Era', *Sociology*, 37:3, 529-546.

### Supplementary Readings

- Abizadeh, Arash. 2005. 'Does Collective Identity Presuppose an Other? On the Alleged Incoherence of Global Solidarity', *American Political Science Review*, 99:1, 45-60.
- Agnew, John. 2018. *Globalization and Sovereignty: Beyond the Territorial Trap*. 2nd Edition. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Arnason, Johann P. 1990. 'Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7:2/3, 207-236.
- Beck, Ulrich. 2000. *What Is Globalization?* Polity Press.
- Brown, Wendy. 2014. *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Zone Books.
- Chandler, David. 2009. 'The Global Ideology: Rethinking the Politics of the "Global Turn" in IR', *International Relations*, 23:4, 530-547.
- Chernilo, Daniel. 2006. 'Social Theory's Methodological Nationalism: Myth and Reality', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9:1, 5-22.
- Closs Stephens, Angharad. 2013. *The Persistence of Nationalism: From Imagined Communities to Urban Encounters*. Routledge.
- Ferguson, Yale H., and Richard W. Mansbach. 2012. *Globalization: The Return of Borders to a Borderless World?* Routledge.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1999. 'The European Nation-State and the Pressures of Globalization', *New Left Review*, 235, 46-59.

- Halikiopoulou, Daphne, and Sofia Vasilopoulou, eds. 2011. *Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting or Complementary?* Routledge.
- Hont, Istvan. 1994. 'The Permanent Crisis of a Divided Mankind: "Contemporary Crisis of the Nation State" in Historical Perspective', *Political Studies*, 42:S1, 166-231.
- Kaldor, Mary. 2004. 'Nationalism and Globalisation', *Nations and Nationalism*, 10:1/2, 161-177.
- Mann, Michael. 1997. 'Has Globalization Ended the Rise and Rise of the Nation-State?', *Review of International Political Economy*, 4:3, 472-496.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen, and Niels Petersson. 2005. *Globalization: A Short History*. Princeton University Press.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 1994. 'Globalisation as Hybridisation', *International Sociology*, 9:2, 161-184.
- Sassen, Saskia. 2003. 'Globalization or Denationalization?', *Review of International Political Economy*, 10:1, 1-22.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1995. *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Polity Press.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2005. *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd Edition. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Strange, Susan. 1995. 'The Defective State', *Daedalus*, 124:2, 55-74.

## Week 7. Nationalism and Populism

The recent upsurge of populist politics has also been described as a 'new nationalism'. This final seminar wraps up the course by considering the intertwined relationship between nationalism and populism as well as the significance of the nationalist/populist wave for the future of international order.

### Core Readings

- Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. 'Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40:8, 1191-1226.
- De Cleen, Benjamin. 2017. 'Populism and Nationalism', in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, Oxford University Press, 342-362.
- Joppke, Christian. 2021. 'Nationalism in the Neoliberal Order: Old Wine in New Bottles?', *Nations and Nationalism*, 27:4, 960-975.
- Lapore, Jill, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Andreas Wimmer, Jan-Werner Müller, Robert Sapolsky, Yael Tamir, Jack Snyder, and Lars-Erik Cederman. 2019. 'The New Nationalism', *Foreign Affairs*, 98:2, March/April Issue.

### Supplementary Readings

- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Ayşe Zarakol. 2021. 'Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents', *International Organization*, 75:2, 611-634.
- Bonikowski, Bart, Daphne Halikiopoulou, Eric Kaufmann, and Matthijs Rooduijn. 2019. 'Populism and Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective: A Scholarly Exchange', *Nations and Nationalism*, 25:1, 58-81.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. 'Why Populism?', *Theory and Society*, 46:5, 357-385.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2020. 'Populism and Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, 26:1, 44-66.
- De Cleen, Benjamin, and Yannis Stavrakakis. 2017. 'Distinctions and Articulations: A Discourse Theoretical Framework for the Study of Populism and Nationalism', *Javnost – The Public*, 24:4, 301-319.
- De Cleen, Benjamin, Benjamin Moffitt, Panos Panayotu, and Yannis Stavrakakis. 2020. 'The Potentials and Difficulties of Transnational Populism: The Case of the Democracy in Europe Movement 2025 (DiEM25)', *Political Studies*, 68:1, 146-166.
- De La Torre, Carlos, ed. 2015. *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives*. University Press of Kentucky.

- Halikiopoulou, Daphne, and Tim Vlandas. 2019. 'What is New and What is Nationalist about Europe's New Nationalism? Explaining the Rise of the Far Right in Europe', *Nations and Nationalism*, 25:2, 409-434.
- Heiskanen, Jaakko. 2020. 'The Nationalism-Populism Matrix', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 26:3, 335-355.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 2005. *On Populist Reason*. Verso.
- McKean, Benjamin L. 2016. 'Toward an Inclusive Populism? On the Role of Race and Difference in Laclau's Politics', *Political Theory*, 44:6, 797-820.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2021. 'Liberalism and Nationalism in Contemporary America', *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 54:1, 1-8.
- Moffitt, Benjamin. 2016. *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford University Press.
- Moffitt, Benjamin. 2017. 'Transnational Populism? Representative Claims, Media and the Difficulty of Constructing a Transnational "People"', *Javnost – The Public*, 24:4, 409-425.
- Mudde, Cas. 2004. 'The Populist Zeitgeist', *Government and Opposition*, 39:4, 542-563.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rydgren, Jens. 2017. 'Radical Right-Wing Parties in Europe: What's Populism Got to Do with It?', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 16:4, 485-496.
- Stavrakakis, Yannis, and Giorgos Katsambekis. 2014. 'Left-Wing Populism in the European Periphery: The Case of SYRIZA', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 19:2, 119-142.
- Triandafyllidou, Anna. 2020. 'Nationalism in the 21st Century: Neo-Tribal or Plural?', *Nations and Nationalism*, 26:4, 792-806.
- Varshney, Ashutosh, ed. 2021. 'Special Issue on Populism and Nationalism', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 56:2, 131-269.