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Nations and Nationalism 2024 Book Debate: Robert Schertzer and Eric T. Woods, The New Nationalism in America and Beyond: The Deep Roots of Ethnic Nationalism in the Digital Age (2022). Oxford University Press

Elliott Green

Department of International Development, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK

Correspondence
Elliott Green, Department of International Development, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London, UK.
Email: e.d.green@lse.ac.uk

Nationalism continues to be defined and re-defined in multiple ways. The 'new nationalism', as the *Economist* magazine put it in a cover article from 2016, is arguably a different beast from earlier, more liberal and less populist nationalist ideologies, inasmuch as it conceptualizes the nation it wishes to uphold as ethnic rather than civic and promotes isolationism over international integration. Far from reaching a high-water mark with Trump's election and the Brexit referendum in 2016, nationalists like Trump, Le Pen and Farage – as well as Modi and Orban, among many others – appear just as popular today as they were eight years ago.

While there has been some academic scholarship on the origins and modalities of this 'new nationalism', arguably the rise and staying power of this phenomenon deserves more attention. Hence, the need for books such as Schertzer and Woods' *The New Nationalism in America and Beyond*, with rigorous attention not only to multiple countries but also to new media, specifically the tweets send by key ethnic nationalists across the United Kingdom, France and the United States. Schertzer and Woods frame their analysis within the older ethno-symbolist approach to nationalism pioneered by Anthony Smith by focussing on how contemporary nationalists tap into deeply held myths and symbols that resonate with white majorities across all three countries. Indeed, one of Schertzer and Woods' most important points is that these nationalists are more the norm than the exception in their countries' histories, and any discussion of the tropes and memes that occupy their Twitter feeds must dig back into time to understand the resonance of their messages.

This book debate incorporates three critiques of Schertzer and Woods' book. The first, by Philip Gorski, suggests that the book does well to bring nationalism into an analysis of populism but is incorrect in its emphasis on continuity between today's nationalists and those of earlier epochs. Using the language of sociology, Gorski argues that

Schertzer and Woods' approach is neo-Durkheimian when they should actually be Bourdieusian in focussing on 'class-ification'.

The second critique comes from Cynthia Miller-Idriss, who reminds readers about the gendered aspect of much—if not all—of contemporary ethnic nationalism. Misogyny and sexism have arguably long played major roles in nationalist ideologies and continue to do so today. Finally, Sophie Duchesne is concerned in her commentary that Schertzer and Woods have inadvertently generated more, not less legitimacy for nationalist ideology through their research. She also suggests there could have been more attention to a more systematic use of figures and tables to understand the coding and analysis of the tweets that form the empirical core of the book.

In their response, Schertzer and Woods first summarize their book's goal and main argument before responding to the three commentaries. As in previous book debates, many of the commentators' points are relevant not just to the book at hand but also to much of the literature in the field, whether as regards a grounding in sociological theory, the relationship between nationalism and gender, and a normative approach to the study of right-wing nationalism. Despite their differences, Schertzer and Woods and their commentators all appear to agree that scholars need to continue to study the origins and content of appeals to ethnic nationalism to better understand its future.

ORCID

Elliott Green https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0942-5756