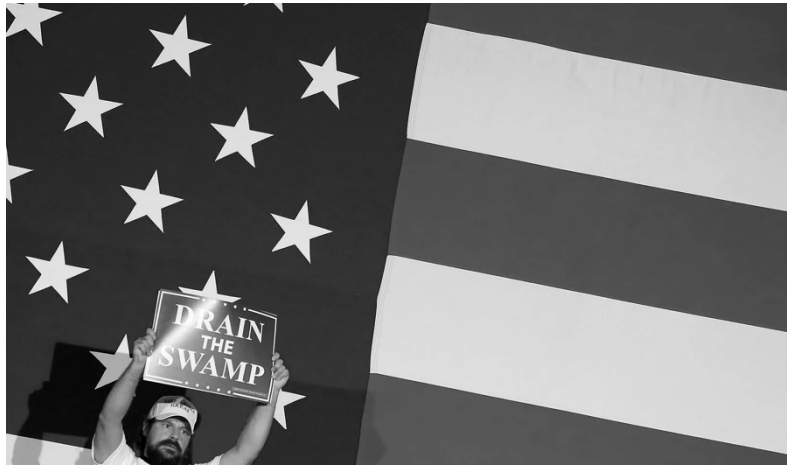


POSC 336: Global Populist Politics

Carleton College, Fall 2023



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Fall-term office hours:
Mondays, 2:00-4:00pm
Tuesdays, 3:15-4:45pm
Thursdays, 3:15-4:30pm

Schedule appointments via Moodle
(*students with appointments will take priority over walk-ins*).

Course overview

Populism is undeniably a growing force in politics around the world: in democracies as well as autocracies, rich and poor countries, and involving different ideologies. So important is populism in the world that Cambridge University Press named it “word of the year” in 2017 – and it shows no signs of becoming less relevant in the years since. But what is populism, and why is it seen as such a powerful (and often dangerous) political phenomenon? In this class, we will explore populism using a variety of comparative frameworks including temporal (situating the current crop of populism in historical context) and ideological (comparing populisms of the left versus the right). We will try to understand the hallmarks of populism, when and why it emerges, and its impact on political institutions and society. After taking this course, you should be able to:

- Describe what constitutes populism (including scholarly debates about how best to define it) and how populism differs in content, style, and values from non-populist politics;
- Evaluate different theories of why populism succeeds in some places and not others, and apply those theories to analyze case studies;
- Understand how to develop and carry out an independent research project on populism, including how to use methodological tools to study populist discourse;
- Engage in more nuanced discussions about the impact of populism and its relationship to democracy.

Course Materials

Hooray, there are no books for you to purchase! What a populist move this is on my part, taking on Big Bookstore in this fashion! Hark at me, professor of the people.

All materials (articles, videos, etc.) are available on Moodle. You are expected to bring a copy of the readings with you (hard copy or electronic version) and make detailed annotations¹ as you read.

¹ Annotations are personal things; what helps me may not be useful to you and vice versa, but **the goal of annotation to engage actively with the content as you go through it**, to think about how you are responding to the ideas – what is interesting, what is confusing, what is compelling (and what is not), what sparks ideas for you, what connections you are

Course Work

Your grade in this course will be based on six elements, which will be weighted as follows:

1. Participation	20%
2. Short paper	10%
3. Data analysis assignment	15%
4. Midterm exam	15%
5. Case study/presentation	15%
6. Final paper	25%

Participation (20%)

We will run this course as a discussion seminar, and as such, I expect everyone in class to participate actively throughout the term. While critical, open-minded listening is crucial to a good seminar, active participation also requires you to **contribute**, not merely to **receive**. Active contribution can take various forms: asking questions, bringing up interesting examples and counterexamples, presenting opposing points of view, reporting back to the class on small-group discussions, etc. But it all requires you to voice ideas. This is admittedly easier for some and harder for others, but discussions are a space where you can try out ideas, even ones that might not be fully baked. Especially ones that are not fully baked! This kind of intellectual risk-taking can feel dangerous and make people feel a little vulnerable, which is why we will all work to create a classroom environment that is generous, kind, and supportive of everyone's contribution and efforts.

Citizenship also matters for participation. Behaviors that will negatively affect your grade include: repeated tardiness, unexplained absences, not paying attention in class (by texting, using the internet, engaging in side conversations with your neighbors, etc.), and engaging in disruptive or disrespectful behavior (to me, to your peers) during lecture, discussions, or presentations.

Short paper (10%)

This paper will give you a chance to engage with and respond to some of the scholarly arguments that we will read at the beginning of class about what populism is and how we might differentiate it from non-populist politics. You will write a 3-4 page response (double-spaced, not including the bibliography) to a prompt that will be given to you, drawing on course readings to inform your thesis and support your argument. The prompt will be given to you at the end of Week 2 and you will have one week to turn in the paper. Outside research is not expected for this assignment.

Data analysis assignment (15%).

To give you some hands-on experience collecting data on populist politics, we will learn how to do some content analysis of populist messaging in campaign ads/speeches. The entire class will work together to code a set of documents using a code book that we will modify together. Each individual will be responsible for working on a subset of the documents, which we will pool to form a single dataset available to the entire class. You will then propose a simple question that can be answered via the dataset we have built as a group, explore the data using simple statistical analysis (correlations, histograms, etc. – though you are free to apply more advanced statistical techniques if you so choose), and write up your results in a 3-4 page (double-spaced document). We will also discuss some of these findings in class. More detailed instructions will be handed out in Week 3, the coding will take place in

making to other readings, theories, and ideas. And, of course, annotations like underlining and summarizing in your own words helps you zoom in on key ideas (and helps you find them again in the future).

Week 4, and the analysis will be due at the end of Week 5. Your grade will be based partly on your contributions to the development of the codebook, your careful and timely coding efforts (collectively, 5%) and the written analysis (10%).

Midterm exam (15%)

There will be a take-home midterm exam halfway through the term for which you will be given several essay prompts. You will select any two and write a response of 6-8 (double-spaced) pages that demonstrates your knowledge of the material and draws substantially on the readings, lectures, and class discussions. The midterm prompts will be given to you at the end of Week 5 and you will have one week to turn in the exam. Outside research is not expected for the midterm.

Case study/presentation (15%)

Because populism is a global phenomenon, we will want to spend a little time thinking about case studies from different corners of the world and what we might learn from thinking about geographic variation. You will sign up for one of seven regions and research what populism looks like in this region. You will then select 1-2 case studies that highlight some of these features and dynamics of populism and study them in greater detail. Groups will be responsible for (1) creating a recorded presentation providing an overview of populist dynamics and trends in their region that the rest of the class will watch, (2) selecting some short readings about their selected cases (mostly from newspapers or similar non-scholarly sources) for the class to read; and (3) lead the class through a 20-minute discussion or activity of their choosing about the assigned readings. This will be a group grade, equally split among the three activities. More details will be handed out in Week 6, and in-class presentations will take place in Week 8.

Final paper (25%)

The final paper for this class will be a research paper on a topic of your own choosing that should be approximately 20 double-spaced pages long. This paper will be due on the last day of the exam period. To help you pace your work, there will be intermediate assignments to help pace your workflow for the term. **These intervening assignments are ungraded but are required:**

- Research proposal – *due Week 7; use template on Moodle*
- Literature review draft of at least four pages – *due Week 9*
- Working thesis and paper outline – *due Week 10*
- Final draft – *due on Moodle by 5pm on November 20th*

Course Policies

Please refer to the course Moodle page for more detailed information on the relevant course policies pertaining to:

- Attendance & COVID policies
- Grading
- Extensions & late work
- Academic integrity (with a special note about AI-assisted sites like ChatGPT)
- Accommodations
- Use of computers, phones, and tablets

It is **your** responsibility to understand these policies and come to me with any questions or clarifications you might have. As in the real world, ignorance of the rules does not exempt you from the rules.

Schedule of Readings

The readings from this course come from a variety of sources, some of which are intended for a general audience of non-specialists and some for a more specialized, knowledgeable, and scholarly audience of political scientists. Depending on your background and prior experience with the subject matter, you may find some of these readings to be fairly straightforward. Others may be tougher going and will require more time and effort on your part. Regardless, it is your responsibility to read each piece with care.

Please engage in *active*, not *passive* reading: summarize main points for yourself as you go along, flag points that are unclear, write down questions that come to mind, note points where you agree and disagree with the author, assess whether the author has provided sufficient credible evidence to substantiate the argument, etc. Annotate the texts freely and with abandon! The more work you put in ahead of time, the more productive class time will be.

Remember: all readings and assignments are due for the day listed unless otherwise noted. The approximate number of pages of reading (excluding bibliography/notes/appendices) is given in parentheses so you can manage your weekly workflow more effectively. Please note in advance that Week 4 has the heaviest reading load for the entire term.

Date	Topic	Readings/Assignments
September 12	Introduction and course overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Familiarize yourself with this syllabus, review course policies, note any questions about course policies/expectations, and visit Moodle site.

Conceptualizing Populism

September 14	Populism as ideology and discourse (37)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 39(4): 541-563. Aslanidis, Paris. 2016. "Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective." <i>Political Studies</i>, 64(1): 88-104.
September 19	Populism as style and strategy (47)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barr, Robert R. 2009. "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics." <i>Party Politics</i>, 15(1): 29-48. Jansen, Robert S. 2011. "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism." <i>Sociological Theory</i>, 29(2): 75-96. Moffit, Benjamin and Simon Tormey. 2014. "Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatization, and Political Style." <i>Political Studies</i>, 62(2): 381-397.
September 21	Varieties of populism (55)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2013. "Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America." <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 48(2): 147-174. Salmela, Mikko and Christian von Scheve. 2018. "Emotional Dynamics of Right- and Left-Wing Political Populism." <i>Humanity & Society</i>, 42(4): 434-454. Aytaç, S. Ardem and Ziva Öniş. 2014. "Varieties Of Populism in a Changing Global Context: The Divergent Paths of Erdogan and Kirchnerismo." <i>Comparative Politics</i>, 47(1): 41-59. <p style="text-align: center;">Short paper prompt handed out in class</p>
September 26	Measuring populism (43)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Norris, Pippa. 2020. "Measuring Populism Worldwide." <i>Party Politics</i>, 26(6), 697-717. Kirk Hawkins. 2009. "Is Chávez populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective." <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>, 42(8): 1040-1067.

What Causes Populism? Considering Supply and Demand

September 28	Democratic deficits (36)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canovan, Margaret. 1999. "Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy." <i>Political Studies</i>, 47(1): 2-16. • Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal. 2012. "The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy, <i>Democratization</i>, 19(2): 184-208. • Krastev, Ivan. 2011. "The Age of Populism: Reflections on the Self-Enmity of Democracy." <i>European View</i>, 10(1): 11-16. <p style="text-align: right;">Short paper due, 7pm</p>
October 3	Economic grievances (70)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kriesi, Hanspeter, et. al. 2006. "Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared." <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 45(6): 921-956. • Rodrik, Dani. 2017. "Populism and the Economics of Globalization." <i>Journal of International Business Policy</i>, 1(1-2): 12-33 • Cayla, David. 2021. <i>Populism and Neoliberalism</i>. Abingdon, UK and New York: Routledge, ch. 1 (pp. 32-53).
October 5	Cultural insecurity (75)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. <i>Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism</i>. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, ch. 2 (pp. 32-56) and ch. 11 (pp. 368-398). • Gest, Justin, Tyler Reny, and Jeremy Mayer. 2018. "Roots of the Radical Right: Nostalgic Deprivation in the United States and Britain." <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>, 51(13): 1694–1719.
October 10	Immigration, nativism, and sovereignty (51)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bonikowski, Bart. 2017. "Ethno-National Populism and the Mobilization of Collective Resentment." <i>The British Journal of Sociology</i>, 68(1): S181-S213. • Vickers, Edward. 2017. "All Quiet on the Eastern Front? Populism, Nationalism, and Democracy in East Asia." <i>Georgetown Journal of International Affairs</i>, 18(2): 59-68. • Kallis, Aristotle. 2018. "Populism, Sovereignism, and the Unlikely Re-emergence of the Territorial Nation-State." <i>Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences</i>, 11: 285-302. <p style="text-align: right;">Data analysis paper due, 7pm</p>
October 12	Psychology (29)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bakker, Bert, Mattujs Rooduijn, and Giju Schmacher. 2016. "The Psychological Roots of Populist Voting: Evidence from the United States, the Netherlands and Germany." <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 55(2): 302-320. • Papaioannou, Kostas, Myrto Pantazi, And Jan-Willem Van Prooijen. 2023. "Unravelling the Relationship Between Populism and Belief in Conspiracy Theories: The Role of Cynicism, Powerlessness and Zero-Sum Thinking." <i>British Journal of Psychology</i>, 114(1): 159-175. <p style="text-align: right;">Midterm exam handed out in class</p>

October 17	Parties, Elections, and Institutions (47)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roberts, Kenneth M. 2017. "Populism and Political Parties." In <i>The Oxford Handbook of Populism</i>, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et. al, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 287-304. • Rydgren, Jens. 2005. "Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family." <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 44(3): 413-437. • Robinson, Neil and Sarah Milne. 2017. "Populism and Political Development in Hybrid Regimes: Russia and the Development of Official Populism." <i>International Political Science Review</i>, 38(4): 412-425. <p style="text-align: center;">Case study assignment handed out in class</p>
October 19	In-class movie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reading! • Watch the first 60 minutes of "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" before class. <p style="text-align: center;">Midterm exam due, 7pm</p>
October 24	Media and technology (43)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hallin, Daniel C. 2021. "Rethinking Mediatisation." In <i>The Routledge Companion to Media Disinformation and Populism</i>, Howard Tumber and Silvio Waisbord, eds. London: Routledge, ch. 4 (pp. 49-58). • Gerbaudo, Paolo. 2018. "Social Media and Populism: An Elective Affinity?" <i>Media, Culture & Society</i>, 40(5): 745-753. • Fieschi, Catherine. 2019. <i>Populocracy</i>. Newcastle, UK: Agenda Publishing, ch. 7 (pp. 137-155) and conclusion (pp. 157-165).

What are the Consequences of Populism?

October 26	How populists rule when elected (54)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pappas, Takis. 2019. "Populists in Power." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 30(2): 70-83. • Plagemann, Johannes and Sandra Destradi. 2019. "Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India." <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i>, 15(2): 283-301. • de Souza, Luís, Daniel Fernandes, and Florian Weiler. 2020. "Is Populism Bad for Business? Assessing the Reputational Effect of Populist Incumbents." <i>Swiss Political Science Review</i>, 27(1): 1-20. • Bartha, Attila, Boda Zsoltand, and Szikra Dorottyua. 2020. "When Populist Leaders Govern: Conceptualising Populism in Policy Making." <i>Politics & Governance</i>, 8(3):71-81. <p style="text-align: center;">Final paper proposal due, 7pm</p>
October 31	In-class presentations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reading!
November 2	In-class presentations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reading!
November 7	Populism and democracy: participation and rights (42)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Piñeiro, Rafael, Matthew Rhodes-Purdy, and Fernando Rosenblatt. 2016. "The Engagement Curve: Populism and Political Engagement in Latin America." <i>Latin American Research Review</i>, 51(4): 3-23. • Johnson, Douglas A. 2020. "In Defense of Democratic Populism." In <i>Human Rights in a Time of Populism: Challenges and Opportunities</i>, Gerald L. Neuman, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 192-217.

November 9	Populism and democracy: governance and politics (55)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Huber, Robert A. and Christian H. Schimpf. 2016. "Friend or Foe? Testing the Influence of Populism on Democratic Quality in Latin America." <i>Political Studies</i>, 64(4): 872-889. • Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2021. "Populism, Democracy, and Party System Change in Europe." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>, 24: 471-498. • Roberts, Kenneth. 2021. "Populism and Polarization in Comparative Perspective: Constitutive, Spatial and Institutional Dimensions." <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 57(4): 680-702. <p style="text-align: center;">Literature review draft (at least four pages) due, 7pm</p>
November 14	Responses to democratic backsliding (49)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal. 2017. "Populism and the Question of How to Respond to It." In <i>The Oxford Handbook of Populism</i>, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et. al, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 489-508. • Meyer, Brett. 2023. "Repel and REBUILD: Expanding the Playbook against Populism." London: Tony Blair Institute. • Goh, Shawn and Carol Soon. 2021. "Singapore's Fake News Law: Countering Populists' Falsehoods and Truth-Making." In <i>The Routledge Companion to Media Disinformation and Populism</i>, Howard Tumber and Silvio Waisbord, eds. London: Routledge, ch. 42 (pp. 459-469). <p style="text-align: center;">Final paper working thesis and outline due, 7pm</p>
November 20		Final paper due, 4:30pm

Additional Resources and Data for Studying Populism

Bright Line Watch: <http://brightlinewatch.org/>
Chapel Hill Expert Study: <https://www.chesdata.eu/>
Democratic Erosion Event Data: <https://www.democratic-erosion.com/event-dataset/>
Global Party Survey: <https://www.globalpartysurvey.org>
Global Populism Database: <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/LFTQEZ>
Manifesto Project: <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu>
ParlGov: <http://www.parlgov.org>
Party Facts: <http://www.partyfacts.org>
Populism and Political Parties Expert Survey (POPPA): <http://poppa-data.eu/>
Stanford University Populism Public Opinion Data: <https://fsi.stanford.edu/global-populisms/content/public-opinion-surveys-0>
Stanford University Votes for Populists Data: <https://fsi.stanford.edu/global-populisms/content/vote-populists>
Team Populism: <https://populism.byu.edu>
The Populism Seminar: <http://populism-seminar.com>
The PopuList: <https://popu-list.org>
V-Party: <https://www.v-dem.net/data/v-party-dataset/>
World Values Survey: <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>

Please note that there is also a research guide for this class that has been put together by Sean Leahy, the social sciences reference librarian. You can access it via Gould Library's website or at <https://gouldguides.carleton.edu/posc336>