

# Populism in Europe and the World

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**INSTRUCTOR:** Paula D. Ganga, paula.ganga@rochester.edu

**CLASS TIME:** MW 9:00-10:15 AM, Location TBD.

**OFFICE HOURS:** 10:30-11:30 AM on Mondays, or by appointment in Harkness Hall 101. The safest way to get in touch is to email me and check I am in the office.

## **COURSE OBJECTIVES:**

Populism is one of the political buzzwords of the early 21st century. It is central to current debates about politics, from radical right parties in Europe to left-wing presidents in Latin America to the Tea Party, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump in the United States. But populism is also one of the most contested concepts in the social sciences. In line with a growing body of literature, populism should be defined in ideational terms, i.e., as a worldview that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite,” and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. This course will provide an introduction to populism in theory and practice.

The first part of the course will discuss how scholars from different parts of the world studied populism since this phenomenon entered the political and social science agenda in the late 1960s. Is populism an ideology? A strategy? A style of politics? A certain type of discourse? Something else? And, crucially, who are “the people” in populism? Could we, possibly, re-conceptualize populism in a way that is at the same time minimal and with sufficient discriminatory power, politically relevant, analytically compelling, operationally feasible, and clearly pointing to an opposite pole?

Beyond defining populism, this course also examines this phenomenon in the entirety of its geographical variants. Populism is an omnipresent, multifaceted, and ideologically boundless phenomenon. What distinguishes its various manifestations in Europe, Latin America, the United States, and elsewhere across time (old vs. new populisms), region (western vs. eastern; but also Nordic, Baltic, and Southern European), regime type in which they develop (democracy vs. non-democracy), and ideological hue (right vs. left populisms)?

A second part of this course will look at actual populist strategies, how populist leaders gain their appeal, what social conditions increase the likelihood of a populist victory, how populists gain and maintain power. What are the determinants of voting motivation for populist parties? And how do they differ from mainstream parties? This course will also examine what happens once populists come into office, as has happened several times in both Europe and Latin America? Cases such as Hungary, Greece and Venezuela are studied in order to understand the way in which populism comes to power and governs.

## LEARNING GOALS

In this course, students will:

- examine key concepts and theories that describe and explain the current phenomenon of populism.
- explore this concept in a comparative perspective drawing on the populist experience across the globe.
- develop oral presentation skills through class presentations and class discussions.
- practice research and analytical skills through three short papers on different aspects of populism.

## REQUIREMENTS

### *Attendance*

Attendance to all class meetings is required.

### *Readings*

Required readings should be completed before the class for which they are assigned. The midterm exam and final paper will require you to have a strong comprehension of the material covered in both the readings and the class discussions.

### *Examinations*

There will be an in-class midterm examination as well as a final exam.

### *Class participation*

All students are expected to come prepared to participate in class and contribute with arguments and questions to the class discussion.

### *Class presentations*

Each student will be expected to make short class presentations on readings for that day and set the discussion up with questions on the material covered.

### *Paper Assignment*

There will be a paper due toward the end of the semester. This project is a 10 page paper based on the course themes.

### *Course Outline*

Introduction .....	Jan 16
Part I. Definitions, theory and practice .....	Jan 23-March 04
<b>Midterm Examination</b> .....	<b>March 06</b>
Part II. The US and Western Europe .....	March 18-April 03
Part III. Eastern Europe .....	April 08-17
Part IV. The rest of the world .....	April 22-May 01
<b>Final Exam</b> .....	<b>Exam Period</b>

## PROCEDURES:

### *Office Hours*

I will hold office hours each week to discuss substantive questions about readings, lectures, exams, and papers. As a general rule of thumb, if you have a substantive question that probably requires more than one or two sentences to answer thoroughly, I recommend that you come to office hours, email me a time to meet or save the question for class. This will be better for everyone because it not only saves time, but I will also be able to sit with you and work through the material in a much more comprehensive way, and in a way that I know will be clear to you. Moreover, people in class probably will have the same questions, and if you ask the question in class, other people will benefit as well. If you have administrative or organizational questions, however, I encourage you to email me first.

### *Late Assignments*

Deadlines are strict. No extensions will be granted in the absence of a genuine emergency or documented illness. Predictable events, such as a heavy workload or extracurricular activities, are not normally considered grounds for an extension. All appeals for extensions will be considered on a case-by-case basis. Late papers will be penalized one full letter grade for each day they are late.

### *Grading*

Grades will be based on the absolute merit of your work, so there is no grading curve employed in this class. Your final grade will be calculated as follows:

<b>Participation</b> .....	<b>10%</b>
<b>Class Presentations</b> .....	<b>10%</b>
<b>Midterm Examination</b> .....	<b>30%</b>
<b>Paper</b> .....	<b>15%</b>
<b>Final Examination</b> .....	<b>35%</b>

### *Grading Disputes*

You may email me about a grading concern after a 48-hour waiting period. You are entitled to a satisfactory explanation for why you received a particular grade. If you are not satisfied with the explanation provided by me, you may submit a written explanation for why you believe that your work was misgraded. The work will then be regraded by me with the understanding that I may ultimately issue a grade that is better, the same, or worse than the original grade.

### *Plagiarism*

Plagiarism or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. As defined by the University of Rochester Honor Council, plagiarism is “the act of passing off as one’s own the ideas or writings of another.”

## READING ASSIGNMENTS

In addition to the books and articles below, you should read the international affairs section of a major national newspaper, such as the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, on a daily basis. You might also consider reading the *Economist*, which is generally considered the best weekly news

magazine available. Class discussion will often include references to contemporary political and economic events, so it is critical that you are aware of important current developments in the world in order to be able to examine the real life consequences of the concepts studied in class.

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### **January 16: Introduction to the class**

### **January 23: Populism so far. Timeline and conceptualizations**

Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39(4): 542-63.

Betz, Hans-Georg. 2013. "A Distant Mirror: Nineteenth-Century Populism, Nativism, and Contemporary Right-Wing Radical Politics." *Democracy and Security* 9(3): 200-20.

### **January 28: Re-conceptualizing populism: Democratic illiberalism vs. liberal democracy**

Canovan, Margaret. 1999. "Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy." *Political Studies* 47(1): 1-16.

Rooduijn, Matthijs. 2014. "The Nucleus of Populism: In Search of the Lowest Common Denominator." *Government and Opposition* 49(4): 572-98.

Plattner, Marc F. 2009. Populism, Pluralism, and Liberal Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(1), 81-92.

### **January 30: Populism, authoritarianism and democracy**

Krastev, Ivan. 2007. "The Strange Death of the Liberal Consensus." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 56-63.

Mounk, Yascha. 2014. "Pitchfork Politics: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* (5 September/October): 27-36.

Rosario Aguilar and Ryan Carlin. 2018. "Populist voters: the role of voter authoritarianism and ideology" in Hawkins, K. A., Carlin, R. E., Littvay, L., and Kaltwasser, C. R. (eds.). *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. Routledge.

### **February 04: Roots of the populist surge**

Barr, R. R. 2009. "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics." *Party Politics* 15(1): 29-48.

Hawkins, Kirk A. 2003. "Populism in Venezuela: The Rise of Chavismo." *Third World Quar-*

terly 24(6): 1137-60.

### **February 06: Populism and the economic crisis. What is the causal arrow?**

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2014. "The Populist Challenge." *West European Politics* 37(2): 361-78.

Mair, Peter. 2006. "Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy." *New Left Review* (42): 25-51.

### **February 11: Populism and the economic crisis. Consequences**

Moffitt, Benjamin. 2014. "How to Perform Crisis: A Model for Understanding the Key Role of Crisis in Contemporary Populism." *Government and Opposition*: 1-29.

Pappas, Takis S. and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2015. "Populism and Crisis: A Fuzzy Relationship." in *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, edited by H. Kriesi and T. S. Pappas. ECPR Press.

### **February 13: What do populists do in office?**

Luther, K. R. 2011. "Of Goals and Own Goals: A Case Study of Right-Wing Populist Party Strategy for and During Incumbency." *Party Politics* 17(4): 453-70.

Pappas, Takis S. 2014. "Populist Democracies: Post-Authoritarian Greece and Post-Communist Hungary." *Government and Opposition* 49(1): 1-23.

### **February 20: The appeal of populist leadership**

Pappas, Takis S. 2008. "Political Leadership and the Emergence of Radical Mass Movements in Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(8): 1117-40.

Tismaneanu, Vladimir. 2000. "Hypotheses on Populism: The Politics of Charismatic Protest." *East European Politics and Societies* 15(1): 10-17.

### **February 25: The populist discourse: Forging the people and producing electoral majorities**

Jagers, Jan and Stefaan Walgrave. 2007. "Populism as Political Communication Style: An Empirical Study of Political Parties' Discourse in Belgium." *European Journal of Political Research* 46(3): 319-45.

Rajacic, Agnes. 2007. "Populist Construction of the Past and Future: Emotional Campaigning in Hungary between 2002 and 2006." *East European Politics and Societies* 21(4): 639-60.

### **February 27: Who is the populist voter?**

Akkerman, A., C. Mudde and A. Zaslove. 2013. "How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Ivarsflaten, E. 2007. "What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe?: Re-Examining Grievance Mobilization Models in Seven Successful Cases." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 3-23.

Lupu, N. 2010. "Who Votes for Chavismo? Class Voting in Hugo Chavez's Venezuela." *Latin American Research Review* 45(1): 7-32.

### **March 04: The geography and varieties of the populist phenomenon**

Betz, Hans-Georg. 1993. "The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Politics* 25(4): 413-27.

Greskovits, Bela. 1995. "Demagogic Populism in Eastern Europe." *Telos* 102: 91-106.

Mudde, Cas and Cristbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2012b. "Exclusionary Vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America." *Government and Opposition* 48(02): 147-74.

### **March 06: Midterm Examination**

### **Spring break**

### **March 18: The history of US populism**

Ionescu, G., and Gellner, E. (eds.). 1969. *Populism: its meaning and national characteristics*. Macmillan.

Williamson, Vanessa, Theda Skocpol and John Coggin. 2011. "The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(01): 25-43.

### **March 20: Modern US Populism**

Wendy Rahn. 2018. "Populism in the US: the evolution of the Trump constituency" in Hawkins, K. A., Carlin, R. E., Littvay, L., and Kaltwasser, C. R. (eds.). *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. Routledge.

Oliver, J. E., and Rahn, Wendy. 2016. "Rise of the Trumpenvolk: Populism in the 2016 Election." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 667(1), 189-206.

### **March 25: The UK**

Matthew Goodwin. 2015. "The Great Recession and the Rise of Populist Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom. in *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, edited by H. Kriesi and T. S. Pappas. ECPR Press.

### **March 27: France**

Hans-Georg Betz. 2018. "The Revenge of the *Ploucs*: The Revival of Radical Populism under Marine Le Pen in France". in *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, edited by H. Kriesi and T. S. Pappas. ECPR Press.

### **April 01: Italy**

Giuliano Bobba and Duncan McDonnell. 2018. "Italy: A Strong and Enduring Market for Populism" in *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, edited by H. Kriesi and T. S. Pappas. ECPR Press.

### **April 03: Greece**

Takis Pappas and Paris Aslanidis. 2018. "Greek Populism: A Political Drama in Five Acts" in *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, edited by H. Kriesi and T. S. Pappas. ECPR Press.

### **April 08: Eastern Europe**

Schedler, Andreas 2010. Authoritarianism's Last Line of Defense. *Journal of Democracy* 21(1): 69-80.

Slater, Dan. 2013. "Democratic Careening." *World Politics* 65(04): 729-63.

### **April 10: Czech Republic**

Vlastimil Havlik. 2018. "The Economic Crisis in the Shadow of Political Crisis: The Rise of Party Populism in the Czech Republic" in *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, edited by H. Kriesi and T. S. Pappas. ECPR Press.

### **April 15: Poland**

Swallow, P. S. 2018. "Explaining the Rise of Populism in Poland: The Post-Communist Transition as a Critical Juncture and Origin of Political Decay in Poland". *Inquiries Journal*, 10(07).

Fomina, J., and Kucharczyk, J. (2016). "Populism and protest in Poland." *Journal of Democracy*, 27(4), 58-68.

### **April 17: Hungary**

Muller, Jan-Werner. 2011. "The Hungarian Tragedy." *Dissent* (Spring): 5-10.

Palonen, E. 2009. "Political Polarisation and Populism in Contemporary Hungary." *Parliamentary Affairs* 62(2): 318-34.

Palonen, E. 2012. "Transition to Crisis in Hungary: Whistle-Blowing on the Naked Emperor." *Politics & Policy* 40(5): 930-57.

#### **April 22: Russia**

Casula, P. 2013. Sovereign Democracy, Populism, and Depoliticization in Russia: Power and Discourse during Putin's First Presidency. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 60(3), 3-15.

Yulia Netesova and Torrey Taussig. 2017. Putin's no populist, but he can gain from populist movements worldwide. Brookings Institution. Thursday, March 30, 2017

#### **April 24: Populism in Latin America**

Weyland, Kurt. 2001. "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics." *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 1-22.

Ioannis Andreadis et al. 2018. "Conditional populist voting in Chile, Greece, Spain, and Bolivia" Hawkins, K. A., Carlin, R. E., Littvay, L., and Kaltwasser, C. R. (eds.). *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. Routledge.

#### **April 29: Populism in Africa**

Resnick, D. 2014. *Urban poverty and party populism in African democracies*. Cambridge University Press.

#### **May 01: Conclusions to the course**

#### ***Final Examination***