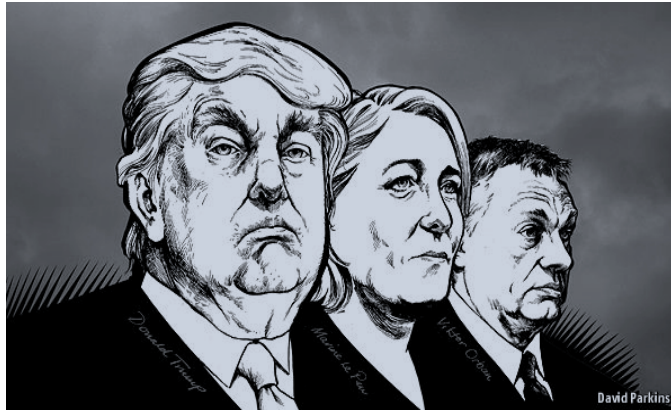


POSC 336: Global Populist Politics

Carleton College, Fall 2019



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Fall Term Office Hours:
Tuesdays, 3:00-4:30pm
Wednesdays, 12:00-3:15pm
Thursdays, 3:00-4:30pm
Skype by appointment

Course Overview

Are populist politicians scoundrels or saviors? Regardless of the answer, 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. How can we understand this diversity? In this class, we will explore populism using a variety of comparative frameworks: temporal (situating the current crop of populism in historical context), ideological (comparing populisms of the left versus the right), as well as geographic. We will try to understand the hallmarks of populism, when and why it emerges, and its impact on political institutions and society.

Course Materials

Hooray, there are no books for you to purchase! What a populist move on my part, taking on Big Bookstore in this fashion!

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) and take notes/make annotations as you read.

Course Work

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

Participation	20%
Reader response papers	10% (2 @ 5% each)
Midterm exam	15%
Data analysis assignment	20%
Final paper	35%

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. Active participation requires you to *contribute*, not merely to *receive*—though respectful, open-minded, critical listening is also crucial to a good seminar. Active contribution

requires 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. We will proceed from the assumption that we are part of the same epistemic community, that we are collectively working together to achieve deeper, broader understanding, and that we each bring different information resources to this common goal. This community only works if we trust each other and have the courage to take part in the discussion.

Because a positive and supportive environment is needed for our epistemic community to flourish, citizenship also matters for participation. Behaviors that will negatively affect your grade include: repeated tardiness, unexplained absences, not paying attention in class to me or your peers (by texting, using the internet, engaging in side conversations with your neighbors, etc.), and engaging in disruptive or disrespectful behavior during lecture, discussions, or presentations.

Reader response paper (10%)

Twice during the term, you will be responsible for handing in a short response paper on a selected reading. Eligible readings are indicated with an asterisk in the syllabus. You should aim to turn one response paper in before Week 5. Each one is worth five percent of your overall grade. The papers should be 2-3 double-spaced pages, and are due on the day for which that reading is assigned; therefore, completing this assignment will require you to prepare in advance to leave yourself with sufficient time to read, reflect on the material, and write the paper. Papers handed in after the class session will not be accepted for any reason; if you are not well or have to miss a class for any reason, you should pick a different reading from the remaining class sessions.

Each response paper should (1) identify the core argument being made and its contribution to the study of populism; (2) how this author's argument speaks to larger conversations or debates in the field, and other works we have read, if appropriate; (3) how the author supports the argument being made; (4) strengths of the work, as you see it, and (4) potential critiques of the work, including unanswered questions or areas for future/further work. It is up to you how you organize the content, but all four elements should be present in some fashion.

Midterm exam (15%)

There will be a take-home midterm exam halfway through the term. You will be given several essay prompts. You will select any two and write a response of 8-10 (double-spaced) pages that demonstrate your knowledge of the material and draw substantially on the readings, lectures, and class discussions.

Data analysis assignment (20%).

To give you some hands-on experience collecting data on populist politics, we will learn how to do some content analysis of populist messages. The class will split into three groups, each of which will analyze one type of communication: speeches by political leaders, campaign ads, and party manifestos. Each group will explore existing measures and metrics used to code populist content, then build their own coding instrument by adding to and/or refining the categories used by other scholars. They will then determine how to sample relevant speeches/ ads/manifestos, and then work together to build a dataset. Once the dataset is built, the teams will analyze the patterns and present some of their most interesting findings in a 20-minute class presentation during the fifth week of the term. Each individual will also hand in a separate short document (2-3 pages) outlining their own investigation of their group's dataset. This assignment will be assessed based on the group's coding process and data collection (10%),

group presentation of results (5%), and individual data exploration (5%). Additionally, a floating $\pm 2\%$ can be added to (or subtracted from) your individual grade. The additional points function as extra credit in cases of exception contributions to the success of the team; deductions will occur if someone fails to contribute to the team. This floating $\pm 2\%$ will be determined via a combination of my observations and peer evaluations from the team.

Final paper (35%)

The final paper for this class will be a 20-25 page (double-spaced) research paper on a topic of your own choosing. This paper will be due on the last day of the exam period. To help you pace your work, the reading schedule also includes suggested goals (with deadlines) that you should build into your workflow for the term. While you are not required to submit these smaller components, you are strongly advised to do so, as I will give you feedback on them, and can help you spot problems and issues along the way.

Course Policies

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

- Grading
- Late work
- Extensions
- Academic integrity
- 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 excuse 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. 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.

Week	Date	Topic	Readings/Assignments
1	Tuesday, September 17	Introduction and course overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ASAP: familiarize yourself with this syllabus, review course policies, ask any questions about course policies, and visit Moodle site.

	Thursday, September 19	What is populism?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 39(4): 541-563.* Jansen, Robert S. 2011. "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism." <i>Sociological Theory</i>, 29(2): 75-96.* Ochoa Espejo, Paulina. 2017. "Populism and the Idea of the People." Pp. 607-628 in <i>The Oxford Handbook of Populism</i>, C.R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. Ochoa Espejo, and P. Ostiguy, eds. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
2	Tuesday, September 24	Variants of populism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ivaldi, Gives, Maria Elisabetta Lanzone, and Dwayne Woods. 2017. "Varieties of Populism across a Left-Right Spectrum: The Case of the Front National, the Northern League, Podemos and Five Star Movement." <i>Swiss Political Science Review</i>, 23(4): 354-376.* Pelinka, Anton. 2013. Right-Wing Populism: Concept and Typology." In <i>Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse</i>, R. Wodak, M. KosraviNik, and B. Mral, eds. London and New York: Bloomsbury, pp. 12-22. Ramiro, Luis and Raul Gomez. 2016. "Radical-Left Populism during the Great Recession: Podemos and Its Competition with the Established Radical Left." <i>Political Studies</i>, 65(1): 108-126.*
	Thursday, September 26	Populism and democracy	<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. Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira. 2012. "The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy," <i>Democratization</i>, 19(2): 184-208. Miller, James. 2019. "Could Populism Actually be Good for Democracy?" Public Seminar Essay, New School for Social Research.

Populism in Comparative Perspective

3	Tuesday, October 1	Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2014. "The Populist Challenge." <i>West European Politics</i>, 37(2): 361-378. * Ágh, Attila. 2019. <i>Declining Democracy in East-Central Europe: The Divide in the EU and Emerging Hard Populism</i>. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, ch. 6. Calhoun, Craig. 2017. "Populism, Nationalism, and Brexit." Pp. 57-76 in <i>Brexit: Sociological Responses</i>, W. Outhwaite, ed. London and New York: Anthem. *
	Thursday, October 3	Asia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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. * Chacko, Priya. 2018. "The Right Turn in India: Authoritarianism, Populism, and Neoliberalization." <i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i>, 48(4): 541-565. * Curato, Nicole. 2016. "Politics of Anxiety, Politics of Hope: Penal Populism and Duterte's Rise to Power." <i>Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs</i>, 35(3): 91-109. *

4	Tuesday, October 8	Latin America	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roberts, Kenneth. 2010. "Latin America's Populist Revival." <i>SAIS Review</i>, 27(1): 3-15. • Kurt Weyland. 1996. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities." <i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i>, 31(3): 3-31. * • Dani Filc. 2015. "Latin American Inclusive and European Exclusionary Populism: Colonialism as an Explanation." <i>Journal of Political Ideologies</i>, 20(3): 263-283. * • Hunter, Wendy and Timothy J. Power. 2019. "Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 30(1): 68-82. *
	Thursday, October 10	MENA and sub-Saharan Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resnick, Danielle. 2010. "Populist Strategies in African Democracies." Working Paper No. 2010/114. Helsinki: The United Nations World Institute for Development Economics Research. * • Cheeseman, Nic and Miles Larmer. 2015. "Ethnopolitism in Africa: Opposition Mobilization in Diverse and Unequal Societies." <i>Democratization</i>, 22(1): 22-50. * • Hadiz, Vedi R. 2013. "A New Islamic Populism and the Contradictions of Development." <i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i>, 44(1): 125-143. * <p>Goal: have at least one brainstorming conversation with DG about possible final paper topics by this date.</p>
5	Tuesday, October 15	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hofstadter, Richard. 1964. "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." <i>Harper's Magazine</i>, November.. • Bonikowski, Bart and Noam Gidron. 2016. "The Populist Style in American Politics: Presidential Campaign Discourse, 1952-1996." <i>Social Forces</i>, 94(4): 1593-1621. * • Oliver, J. Eric and Wendy M. Rahn. 2016. "Rise of the Trumpenvolk: Populism in the 2016 Election." <i>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>, 667(1): 189-206. * • Macauley, Marcia. 2019. "Bernie and the Donald: A Comparison of Left- and Right-Wing Populist Discourse." Pp. 165-195 in <i>Populist Discourse: International Perspectives</i>, M. Macauley, ed. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. *
	Thursday, October 17	In-class data presentations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reading <p>All documents related to data presentation should be uploaded to Moodle before class. Midterm exam handed out in class</p>

Explaining Populism: What Motivates Support for Populism?

6	Tuesday, October 22	Economic grievance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rodrik, Dani. 2017. "Populism and the Economics of Globalization." <i>Journal of International Business Policy</i>, 1(1-2): 12-33. * Aslanidis, Paris. 2016. "Populist Social Movements of the Great Recession." <i>Mobilization</i>, 21(3): 301-321. * Busby, Ethan C., David Doyle, Kirk A. Hawkins, and Wiesehomeier. 2019. "Activating Populist Attitudes: The Role of Corruption." Pp. 374-395 in <i>The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis</i>, K.A. Hawkins, R.E. Carlin, L. Littvay, and C.R. Kaltwasser, eds. London and New York: Routledge. *
	Thursday, October 24	In-class movie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No reading <p>Midterm exam due on Moodle by 7pm</p>
7	Tuesday, October 29	Cultural backlash, immigration, and identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> David Normal Smith and Eric Hanley. 2018. "The Anger Games: Who Voted for Donald Trump in the 2016 Election, and Why?" <i>Critical Sociology</i>, 44(2): 195-212. * Christopher Cochrane and Neil Nevitte. 2014. "Scapegoating: Unemployment, Far-Right Parties and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment." <i>Comparative European Politics</i>, 12(1): 1-32. * Inglehart, Ronald F. and Pippa Norris. 2016. "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash." Harvard Kennedy School Working Paper No. RWP16-026. * <p>Goal: submit proposed topic for final paper</p>
	Thursday, October 31	Electoral systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Golder, Matt. 2003 "Explaining Variation in the Electoral Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe." <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>, 36(4): 432-466. * Carter, Elisabeth. 2004. "Does Proportional Representation Promote Political Extremism? Evidence from the West European Parties of the Extreme Right." <i>Representation</i>. 40(2): 82-100.*
8	Tuesday, November 5	Technology and social media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bimber, Bruce. 1998. "The Internet and Political Transformation: Populism, Community, and Accelerated Pluralism." <i>Polity</i>, 31(10): 133-160. * Waisbord, Silvio and Adriana Amado. 2017. "Populist Communication by Digital Means: Presidential Twitter in Latin America." <i>Information, Communication & Society</i>, 20(9): 1330-1346. * Bulut, Ergin and Erdem Yörük. 2017. "Mediatized Populisms, Digital Populisms: Trolls and Political Polarization of Twitter in Turkey." <i>International Journal of Communication</i>, 11: 4093-4117. *

8	Thursday, November 7	Party competition and polarization, and patronage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira and Paul Taggart. 2016. "Dealing with Populists in Government: A Framework for Analysis." <i>Democratization</i>, 23(2): 201-220. • De Lange, Sarah. 2012. "New Alliances: Why Mainstream Parties Govern with Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties." <i>Political Studies</i>, 60: 899–918. * • Kenny, Paul D. 2017. <i>Populism and Patronage: Why Populists Win Elections In India, Asia, and Beyond</i>. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, ch. 1 (pp. 1-18), 3, 8. *
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What are the Consequences of Populism for Society?

9	Tuesday, November 12	Liberal institutions and civic culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mudde, Cas. 2013. 'Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?' <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 52(1): 1-19.* • 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. * • 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. * <p>Goal: hand in detailed outline of final paper</p>
	Thursday, November 14	Policy outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Houle, Christian and Paul D. Kenny. 2016. "The Political and Economic Consequences of Populist Rule in Latin America." <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 53(2): 256-287. * • Plagemann, Johannes and Sandra Destradi. 2019. "Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India." <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i>, 15(2): 283-301. *
10	Tuesday, November 19	Popular resistance and the anti-populist backlash	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heaney, Michael. 2018. "Making Protest Great Again." <i>Contexts</i>, 17(1): 42-47. • Stacey, Jeffrey A. 2019. "Is a Tide Turning Against Populism?" <i>New York Times</i>, 10 July. • Kundnani, Hans. 2019. "Liberalism's Betrayal of Itself—And the Way Back." <i>The Economist</i>, 14 February. <p>Goal: hand in draft of introduction and thesis for final paper</p>
	Monday, November 25		** Final paper due by 7pm on Moodle **