

# POSC 336: Global Populist Politics

Carleton College, Fall 2021



**Professor Devashree Gupta**

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## **Fall-term office hours:**

Tuesdays, 3-5:30pm (drop-in)

Wednesdays, 10am-12:30pm (by appointment, schedulable via Moodle)

Thursdays, 10am-12:00pm (drop-in)

*Please note: office hours will generally be held **in person on Tuesdays and Thursdays**. You may request a Zoom appointment for Tuesday & Thursday office hours if you are more comfortable meeting virtually. If pandemic circumstances dictate, I may move office hours to Zoom only. Weather permitting, I may hold office hours outside.*

## **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. 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 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 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:

<b>Participation</b>	20%
<b>Reader response paper</b>	10%
<b>Midterm exam</b>	15%
<b>Data analysis assignment</b>	15%
<b>Final paper</b>	40%

### **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.

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.

Everyone will also take a turn (in pairs) to organize one day's discussion, including planning questions and activities to help us engage with the material for that day. We will have sign-ups, and these student-led sessions will begin in Week 3. Pairs are requested to check in with me the day before class to run through their ideas for class.

### **Reader response paper (10%)**

You will be responsible for handing in one short response paper on a reading of your choice from the first half of class. Eligible readings are indicated with an asterisk in the syllabus. **You should turn in your response paper in by the end of Week 5.** The paper should be 3-4 double-spaced pages, and will be 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 turned in after class 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.

Your 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 (i.e., builds on, amplifies, broadens, nuances, refutes, complicates, critiques, etc.) larger conversations or debates in the field, including other works we have read; (3) 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. Papers should include a bibliography. You are strongly encouraged to think of this assignment as an opportunity to think intertextually – that is, to focus on your core text, but see it in context of other texts we read and discuss, and to bring those other texts in explicitly to reach deeper insight into the arguments, merits, and limits of your selected piece.

### **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. External research is not expected for the midterm.

### **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 message in campaign ads. You will work in groups to propose focused, testable questions pertaining to populist messaging, and then we will work together as a class to take

those questions and turn them into a codebook that everyone will use to gather and enter data in a common dataset.

Once the dataset is built, each group will use it to analyze their question and present some of the most interesting findings in a class presentation. This assignment will be assessed based equally on the group's analysis and connection to core material/theories from class and presentation of results. There will also be up to  $\pm 3$  points available as a "bonus" to capture any above-and-beyond contributions by individuals to the success of the team (or as a "penalty" in case any individuals do not contribute in a meaningful way to the group's work). The bonus/penalty will be determined by peer evaluation, self-assessment, and my observations. If everyone contributes in an equitable and meaningful way, the bonus/penalty will not be applied at all.

### **Final paper (40%)**

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, there will be intermediate assignments to help pace your workflow for the term. These intervening assignments are required and will have modest grades attached to them. These are:

- Research proposal (3%) – *due Week 7; use template on Moodle*
- Five-page draft (5%) – *due Week 10; in-class paper workshop with peer review comments (2%)*
- Final draft (30%) – *due on Moodle by 5pm on November 24<sup>th</sup>*

### **Course Policies**

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

- Attendance
- COVID policies
- Grading
- 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 exempt you from the rules.

### **Schedule of Readings**

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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. Number of pages of reading (excluding bibliography/notes/appendices) approximated in parentheses so you can manage your weekly workflow more effectively.

Date	Topic	Readings/Assignments
September 16	Introduction and course overview (~8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Familiarize yourself with this syllabus, review course policies, note any questions about course policies/expectations, and visit Moodle site.</li> <li>Valelly, Rick. 2017. "The Populist Scare of the 1890s – and the Aftermath that Changed American Populism." Research memo, Global Populisms: A Threat to Democracy Workshop, Stanford University.</li> </ul>
September 21	Conceptualizing populism, pt. 1 (~57)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 39(4): 541-563.*</li> <li>Jansen, Robert S. 2011. "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism." <i>Sociological Theory</i>, 29(2): 75–96.*</li> <li>Aslandis, Paris. 2016. "Populist Social Movements of the Great Recession." <i>Mobilization</i>, 21(3): 301-321.*</li> <li><b>Reminder: sign up on Moodle for discussion leader slots</b></li> </ul>
September 23	Conceptualizing populism, pt. 2 (~49)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Moffit, Benjamin and Simon Tormey. 2014. "Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatization, and Political Style." <i>Political Studies</i>, 62(2): 381-397.*</li> <li>Schoor, Carola. 2017. "In the Theater of Political Style: Touches of Populism, Pluralism, and Elitism in Speeches of Politicians." <i>Discourse &amp; Society</i>, 28(6): 657-676.*</li> <li>Ochoa Espejo, Paulina. 2017. "Populism and the Idea of the People." 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, pp. 607-628.*</li> </ul>
September 28	Varieties of populism (~54)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ivaldi, Givès, Maria Elisabetta Lanzzone, 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.*</li> <li>Salmela, Mikko and Christian von Scheve. 2018. "Emotional Dynamics of Right- and Left-Wing Political Populism." <i>Humanity &amp; Society</i>, 42(4): 434-454.*</li> <li>March, Luke. 2017. "Left and Right Populism Compared: The British Case." <i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>, 19(2): 282-303.*</li> </ul>
September 30	Case study: Trump vs. Sanders (~61)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>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.*</li> <li>Tamames, Jorge. 2020. <i>For the People: Left Populism in Spain and the US</i>. London: Lawrence Wishart, ch. 7 (pp. 201-231).*</li> <li>Stauffer, Simon Julian. 2021. "Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders, and the Question of Populism." <i>Journal of Political Ideologies</i>, 26(2): 220-238.*</li> </ul>

### What drives support for populism?

October 5	Cultural resentments (~55)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>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. 2 (pp. 368-398).* [note: response papers need only to focus on one chapter or the other]</li> <li>Hajnal, Zoltan. 2018. "Trump's Anti-Immigrant Backlash in Broader Perspective." Research memo from the Immigration and Populism Workshop, Stanford University.</li> </ul>
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October 7	Pathologies of democracy (~31)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canovan, Margaret. 1999. "Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy." <i>Political Studies</i>, 47(1): 2-16.*</li> <li>• Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira. 2012. "The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy, <i>Democratization</i>, 19(2): 184-208.*</li> </ul>
October 12	Economic grievances (~58)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rodrik, Dani. 2017. "Populism and the Economics of Globalization." <i>Journal of International Business Policy</i>, 1(1-2): 12-33.*</li> <li>• Cayla, David. 2021. <i>Populism and Neoliberalism</i>. Abingdon, UK and New York: Routledge, ch. 1 (pp. 32-53).*</li> <li>• Stankov, Petar. 2021. <i>The Political Economy of Populism</i>. Abingdon, UK and New York: Routledge, ch. 2 (pp. 9-27).*</li> </ul>
October 14	Media and technology (~63)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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).*</li> <li>• Bimber, Bruce. 1998. "The Internet and Political Transformation: Populism, Community, and Accelerated Pluralism." <i>Polity</i>, 31(10): 133-160. *</li> <li>• Fieschi, Catherine. 2019. <i>Populocracy</i>. Newcastle, UK: Agenda Publishing, ch. 7 (pp. 137-155) and conclusion (pp. 157-165).* [note: response papers should treat this chapter and the conclusion as one combined reading].</li> <li>• <b>Last day to turn in a short response paper. Midterm exam handed out in class. Data analysis group questions due by FRIDAY @ 5pm on Moodle</b></li> </ul>

### Populism in comparative context

October 19	South, Southeast and East Asia (~58)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Chacko, Priya. 2018. "The Right Turn in India: Authoritarianism, Populism, and Neoliberalization." <i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i>, 48(4): 541-565.</li> <li>• Thompson, Mark R. 2021. "Duterte's Violent Populism: Mass Murder, Political Legitimacy, and the "Death of Development" in the Philippines." <i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i>, DOI: 10.1080/00472336.2021.1910859, pp. 1-26.</li> <li>• Pepinsky, Thomas. 2018. "Migrants, Minorities, and Populists in Asia." Research memo from the Immigration and Populism Workshop, Stanford University.</li> </ul>
October 21	In-class movie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No reading!</li> <li>• Watch the first 45 minutes of "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" before class</li> <li>• <b>Midterm due by 7pm on Moodle</b></li> </ul>
October 26	MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa (~58)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mutsaviro, Bruce and Susana Salgado. 2021. "Populism in Africa: Personalistic Leaders and the Illusion of Representation." In <i>The Routledge Companion to Media Disinformation and Populism</i>, Howard Tumber and Silvio Waisbord, eds. London: Routledge, ch. 31 (pp. 335-344).</li> <li>• Resnick, Danielle. 2010. "Populist Strategies in African Democracies." Working Paper No. 2010/114. Helsinki: The United Nations World Institute for Development Economics Research.</li> <li>• Hadiz, Vedi R. 2013. "A New Islamic Populism and the Contradictions of Development." <i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i>, 44(1): 125-143.</li> <li>• Hinnebush, Raymond. 2020. "The Rise and Decline of the Populist Social Contract in the Arab World." <i>World Development</i>, 129: 1-11.</li> </ul>

October 28	Latin America (~58)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Roberts, Kenneth. 2010. "Latin America's Populist Revival." <i>SAIS Review</i>, 27(1): 3-15.</li> <li>Dani Filc. 2015. "Latin American Inclusive and European Exclusionary Populism: Colonialism as an Explanation." <i>Journal of Political Ideologies</i>, 20(3): 263-283.</li> <li>Hunter, Wendy and Timothy J. Power. 2019. "Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 30(1): 68-82.</li> <li><b>Research proposal for final paper due by 7pm on Moodle</b></li> </ul>
November 2	Data presentations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No reading!</li> </ul>

### What are the consequences of populism for society?

November 4	Participation and democracy (~51)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>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.</li> <li>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.</li> <li>Lacey, Nicola. 2019. "Populism and the Rule of Law." Working Paper #28, London School of Economics, International Inequalities Institute.</li> <li>Mickey, Robert. 2017. "Anti-Anti-Populism, or: The Threat to Populism to US Democracy is Exaggerated." Research memo, Global Populisms: A Threat to Democracy Workshop, Stanford University.</li> </ul>
November 9	Governance, public policy, international relations (~48)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Plagemann, Johannes and Sandra Destradi. 2019. "Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India." <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i>, 15(2): 283-301.</li> <li>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.</li> <li>Huber, Robert A., Tomas Maltby, Kacper Szulecki, and Stefan Cetovic. 2021. "Is Populism a Challenge to European Energy and Climate Policy? Empirical Evidence Across Varieties of Populism." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>, 28(7): 998-1017.</li> </ul>
November 11	Redeeming populism? (~68)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Critchlow, Donald T. 2020. <i>In Defense of Populism: Protest and American Democracy</i>. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Introduction (pp. 1-10), ch. 3 (pp. 70-106), and ch. 6 (pp. 165-186).</li> </ul>
November 16	Countering populism? Top-down approaches (~35)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Polyakova, Alina. 2019. "Responding to the Illiberal Toolkit: From Turkey to Central Europe." Research memo presented at the Global Populisms and their International Diffusion Conference, Stanford University, 1-2 March.</li> <li>Grainger-Brown, Lucas. 2021. "Anti-Populism in Action: A Case Study of the Remain Argument During the EU Referendum." <i>Policy Studies</i>, doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2021.1967309, pp. 1-20.</li> <li>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).</li> <li><b>Five-page draft due by 7pm on Moodle</b></li> </ul>
November 18	Countering populism? Bottom-up approaches (~22)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bugaric, Bojan. 2019. "The Two Faces of Populism: Between Authoritarian and Democratic Populism." <i>German Law Journal</i>, 20: 390-400.</li> <li>Sombatpoonsiri, Janjira. 2018. "Rethinking Civil Resistance in the Face of Rightwing Populism: A Theoretical Inquiry." <i>Journal of Peacebuilding and Development</i>, 13(3): 7-22.</li> <li><b>In-class paper workshop (read peer's draft and prepare feedback)</b></li> </ul>

