

Populism in Europe and the Americas: Actors, Causes and Reactions

Professor: Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser
Session: July
Language of instruction: English
Number of hours of class: 36

Objective of the Course

The main objective of this course is to explore the phenomenon of populism. We will examine its meaning, causes and effects from a comparative perspective. Students will learn not only an increasingly consensual conceptual approach to analyze populism, but they will also gain knowledge about how governments and institutions deal with this phenomenon, which is becoming more and more relevant across the world.

Summary

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, employing an increasingly consensual ideational approach to populism.

Organization of the Course

The course will address the following themes: (1) concepts of populism (assessment of definitions and presentation of populism as a set of ideas); (2) current populist forces in Europe, Latin America, and the United States; (3) characteristics of populist forces; (4) the ambivalent relationship between populism and democracy; and (5) causes and responses to populist forces (e.g. theories of populist mobilization, and national and international responses to the rise of populist forces).

The following table presents the topics that will be discussed each date.

DATE	TOPIC
July 3 (Monday) 9:00 – 12:30	The construction of concepts in the social sciences
July 4 (Tuesday) 9:00 – 12:30	What populism is and is not?
July 5 (Wednesday) 9:00 – 12:30	The ideational approach to populism
July 10 (Monday) 9:00 – 12:30	Populism in Latin America
July 11 (Tuesday) 9:00 – 12:30	Populism in Europe

DAY	TOPIC
July 12 (Wednesday) 9:00 – 12:30	Populism in the United States
July 13 (Thursday) 9:00 – 12:30	Populist mobilization
July 18 (Tuesday) 9:00 – 12:30	Populism vs. democracy?
July 19 (Wednesday) 9:00 – 12:30	Populism and (de)democratization
July 20 (Thursday) 9:00 – 12:30	What causes populism?
July 24 (Monday) 9:00 – 12:30	Dealing with populism
July 25 (Tuesday) 9:00 – 12:30	Research agenda and the future of populism

Requirements for course validation

This course includes three assessments. Firstly, students will be evaluated for their active participation during the course. This is an important aspect of this course, which is designed as a seminar based not only on the remarks made by the professor, but also on the comments and discussion of students. Secondly, each student will give an oral presentation of a particular case study assigned the first day of class. The presentation should offer a brief introduction into the case study and discuss if it should be considered an example of populism or not. Thirdly, there will be a final exam, in which the topics discussed during the course will be assessed. The weight for each of these assessments is the following:

- 20% for active participation in the course
- 30% for oral presentation
- 50% for the final exam

Bibliography

Mandatory readings

The following table outlines the mandatory readings for each session. Students are strongly encouraged to read the mandatory bibliography for each session in advance, given that questions will be raised about specific issues discussed in the mandatory readings during class.

July 3 (Monday) Topic: the construction of concepts in the social sciences	Sartori, Giovanni (1970): "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics", <i>The American Political Science Review</i> , 64(4): 1033-1053. Collier, David and James E. Mahon, Jr. (1993): "Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis", <i>The American Political Science Review</i> , 87(4): 845-855.
July 4 (Tuesday) Topic: What populism is and it not?	Weyland, Kurt (2001): "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics", <i>Comparative Politics</i> , 34(1): 1-22. Ostiguy, Pierre (2009): "The High and the Low in Politics: A Two-Dimensional Political Space for Comparative Analysis and Electoral Studies", <i>Kellogg Institute Working Paper</i> , 360: 1-65 (<u>read from page 1 to page 23</u>).

<p>July 5 (Wednesday)</p> <p>Topic: The ideational approach to populism</p>	<p>Mudde, Cas (2004): "The Populist Zeitgeist", <i>Government & Opposition</i>, 39(4): 541-563.</p> <p>Hawkins, Kirk (2009): "Is Chávez Populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective", <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>, 42(8): 1040-1067.</p>
<p>July 10 (Monday)</p> <p>Topic: Populism in Latin America</p>	<p>Weyland, Kurt (1996): "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities", <i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i>, 31(3): 3-31.</p> <p>de la Torre, Carlos (2007): "The Resurgence of Radical Populism in Latin America", <i>Constellations</i>, 14(3): 398-397.</p>
<p>July 11 (Tuesday)</p> <p>Topic: Populism in Europe</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>Stavrakakis, Yannis and Giorgos Katsambekis (2014): "Left-wing Populism in the European Periphery: The Case of SYRIZA", <i>Journal of Political Ideologies</i> 19 (2): 119-142.</p>
<p>July 12 (Wednesday)</p> <p>Topic: Populism in the United States</p>	<p>Judis, John B. (2016): <i>The Populist Explosion. How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics</i>. New York: Columbia Global Reports, chapters 1 and 2.</p> <p>Formisano, Ronald (2012): <i>The Tea Party</i>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, chapters 1, 6 and 7.</p>
<p>July 13 (Thursday)</p> <p>Topic: Populist mobilization</p>	<p>Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2017): <i>Populism: A Very Short Introduction</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, chapter 4.</p> <p>Aslanidis, Paris (2016): "Populist Social Movements of the Great Recession", <i>Mobilization: An International Quarterly</i>, 21(3): 301-321.</p>
<p>July 18 (Tuesday)</p> <p>Topic: Populism vs. democracy?</p>	<p>Robert Dahl (1971): <i>Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition</i>. New Haven: Yale University Press, chapters 1, 2 and 3.</p> <p>Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal (2014): "The Responses of Populism to Dahl's Democratic Dilemmas", <i>Political Studies</i>, 62(3): 470-487.</p>
<p>July 19 (Wednesday)</p> <p>Topic: Populism and (de)democratization</p>	<p>Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2017): <i>Populism: A Very Short Introduction</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, chapter 5.</p> <p>Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way (2002): "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism", <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 13(2): 51-65.</p>

<p>July 20 (Thursday)</p> <p>Topic: What causes populism?</p>	<p>Bornschieer, Simon (2012): "Why a Right-Wing Populist Party Emerged in France but not in Germany: Cleavages and Actors in the Formation of a New Cultural Divide", <i>European Political Science Review</i>, 4(1): 121-145.</p> <p>Hawkins, Kirk A., Madeleine Read and Teun Pauwels (forthcoming): "Populism and its Causes", in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy (eds.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of Populism</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p>
<p>July 24 (Monday)</p> <p>Topic: Dealing with populism</p>	<p>Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal and Paul Taggart (2016): "Dealing with Populists in Government: A Framework for Analysis", <i>Democratization</i>, 23(2): 201-220.</p> <p>Taggart, Paul and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2016): "Dealing with Populists in Government: Some Comparative Conclusions", <i>Democratization</i>, 23(2): 345-365.</p>
<p>July 25 (Tuesday)</p> <p>Topic: Research agenda and the future of populism</p>	<p>Hanspeter Kriesi (2014): "The Populist Challenge", <i>West European Politics</i>, 37(2): 361-378.</p> <p>Akkerman, Tjitske, Sarah L. de Lange and Matthijs Rooduijn (eds.) (2016): <i>Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe</i>. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, chapters 1 and 13.</p>

Suggested readings:

This is a concise list of books that provide more detailed and specific discussions of populism. Only relatively recent sources in English are included.

- Albertazzi, Daniele, and Duncan McDonnell (eds.) (2008): *Twenty-First Century Populism. The Spectre of Western Democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Art, David (2011): *Inside the Radical Right. The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Berlet, Chip and Matthew N. Lyons (2000): *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2000.
- Canovan, Margaret (2005): *The People*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Conniff, Michael L. (ed.) (2012): *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012, second edition.
- de la Torre, Carlos (2010): *Populist Seduction in Latin America*. Athens: Ohio University Press, revised edition.
- de la Torre, Carlos (ed.) (2015): *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- de la Torre, Carlos and Cynthia J. Arnson (eds.) (2013): *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century*. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Hawkins, Kirk (2010): *Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kampwirth, Karen (ed.) (2010): *Gender and Populism in Latin America: Passionate Politics*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Kazin, Michael (1998): *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, revised edition.

- Kriesi, Hanspeter and Takis Pappas (eds.) (2015): *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Laclau, Ernesto (2005): *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe (1985): *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.
- Mizuno, Kosuke and Pasuk Phongpaichit (eds.) (2009): *Populism in Asia*. Singapore: NUS Press and Kyoto University Press.
- Moffitt, Benjamin (2016): *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mudde, Cas (2007): *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds.) (2012): *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, Jan-Werner (2016): *What Is Populism?* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Panizza, Francisco (ed.) (2005): *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Resnick, Danielle (2013): *Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre (2008): *Counter-Democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taggart, Paul (2000): *Populism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Main Professor Biography



Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (PhD, Humboldt University of Berlin) is an Associate Professor of political science at Diego Portales University in Santiago de Chile. Before joining Diego Portales University, he was a Marie-Curie Research Fellow at the University of Sussex in the UK and a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) in Germany. He is the co-editor, with Cas Mudde, of *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) as well as the co-editor, with Juan Pablo Luna, of *The Resilience of the Latin American Right* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014). His new book *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, written together with Cas Mudde, has been published by Oxford University Press at the beginning of 2017.