Central European University, Department of Political Science
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Populism

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Time period: January 12 – February 13, 2015
Course level: Graduate (Master’s)
Credits: 2.0

Introduction to the course and objectives

This graduate course focuses on the political nature, mechanics, attributes, and concrete outcomes of populism in pluralist political systems with a particular emphasis on modern and contemporary European politics. Its objective is to review the most recent developments and state-of-art literature in the booming fields of comparative populism and illiberal politics. It seeks to familiarize students with the intricacies of empirically complex – and, for this reason, theoretically challenging – phenomena, as well as assess their impact on current real politics, be that at specific national, EU, or world level. The course is both analytical and comparative in scope. Accordingly, the lectures will be thematic and supported by a large number of concrete cases of populism taken from several country- and time-contexts. Through our explorations of a large number of empirical cases, we will draw from several disciplines besides political science (including history, sociology and cognitive psychology), methodological approaches, continents, and individual countries. We are moreover going to examine a broad cross-section of topics; engage in re-conceptualizations; try to understand the micro-mechanisms of populist emergence; the rationales of the populist voter; the attributes of populism when in power; and its normative implications for contemporary liberal democracy.

Course requirements

Students are expected to write a class paper of about 6,000 words and be very active in class discussions. Please, note that consultation with the lecturer prior to deciding about your essay topic is highly recommended. Course grading will depend on class participation (25%) and paper quality (75%) in terms of conceptual clarity, analytical
power, theoretical value, and, of course, good language. All papers are due by **March 15, 2015** (please send by email to my personal address). No extensions will be granted.

**General readings on topic**

In addition to assigned course work, students are *advised* to read at least two of the following books covering populism in various parts of the world. Each in its own way, all these books are delightful and full of original ideas:


**Course outline**

(Readings are in alphabetical order; * means required reading; all the rest is optional)

1. **How have we studied populism so far? Timeline and the semantic field**

How have scholars from different parts of the world studied populism since this phenomenon entered the political and social science agenda in the late 1960s? And how have we tried to conceptualize its main features to this very date? Is it an ideology? A strategy? A style? A certain discourse? Something else? And, crucially, who are “the people” in populism?

*Readings:*


2. Re-conceptualizing populism: Democratic illiberalism vs. liberal democracy

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? By understanding populism as “democratic illiberalism,” we pit it against contemporary liberal democracy and see how the two concepts contrast. We also make populism fully operational for comparative research.

**Readings:**

3. The geography and varieties of the populist phenomenon

Populism is an omnipresent, multifaceted, and ideologically boundless phenomenon. What, then, 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, Alpine, Baltic, and Southern European), regime type in which they develop (democracy vs. non-democracy), and ideological hue (right vs. left populisms)?

Readings:

4. Populist emergence: Is there a common causal pattern?

When, and under which conditions, do populist leaders, movements or parties, and even entire illiberal polities emerge? This class provides an integrated analytical framework for understanding the rise of populism in the seemingly different contexts of Europe and Latin America. It also points to the importance of social resentment politicization, new cleavage formation, and intense polarization.

Readings:


5. **Contrasting cases: Why there is populism in Greece but, to date, not in Spain?**

After their almost simultaneous transition to pluralist politics (Greece in July 1974 and Spain in November 1975), these two countries followed a seemingly similar course of democratic consolidation based on modernization and Europeanization. However, one of them, Greece, became imbued with populism, while the other, Spain, remained until recently populism-free. We use these cases as country-laboratories for understanding the specific causal (and, most often, agency-related) mechanisms that may trigger populism or, when such mechanisms fail to get activated, end up with a non-populist effect.

**Readings:**


6. Populist leadership: Are populist leaders charismatic?

How does charismatic leadership relate to, and work on, populism? And how much does it account for the latter's continuing success? While several authors have considered charismatic leadership an essential feature of populism, empirical evidence suggests otherwise. This class includes a theoretical reconceptualization of political charisma and its empirical application to a large number of cases from both Europe and Latin America.

Readings:


7. The populist discourse: Forging ‘the people’, and producing electoral majorities

Populist emergence requires a ‘master narrative’, that is, the utilization of symbolic frames for constructing a new political reality in which the (virtuous) ‘people’ is set against some (evil) ‘elite’. What it takes for such a novel construction to emerge out of old politics in which objective cleavages seemed to be long solidified? And how are populist majorities produced?

Readings:

8. The populist voter: Biased beliefs and populist voter rationality

What are the determinants of voting motivation for populist parties? And how do they differ from voting mainstream parties? We examine theories of ideological voting; socioeconomic voting; policy voting; party leader voting; protest voting; strategic voting, and examine their predictive values. We then turn the tables and focus on societies’ “systematically biased beliefs” where populism is strong.

Readings:


9. Populism in office: Contagious effects and the rise of populist democracies

What happens once the populists come into office, as has happened several times in both Europe and Latin America? This class introduces populist democracy as a novel democratic subtype indicating a situation in which both the party in office and the
major opposition are populist. It analyzes the particular stages and causal mechanisms of it, and asks whether it is an endemic or more permanent phenomenon.

**Readings:**


10. **Populism and economic crisis. Cause, consequence, or both?**

Is there a significant correlation between types and degrees of crisis on the one hand and populist manifestations on the other? Can we discern specific causalities? We review contemporary European politics during the recent (and still ongoing) Great Recession, and ask whether the multiple crises – both economic and political – it has produced have benefitted populism. As the empirical data show, the relationship between populism and economic crisis is a rather fuzzy one.

**Readings:**

11. Populism’s authoritarian impulse: Hungary as best case study

Having understood populism as ‘democratic illiberalism’, it is now time to examine it in relation to the system that is known as “competitive authoritarianism” and think about its potential non-democratic impulses. How, and under which conditions, may populism’s uneasy balance between democratic-ness and illiberalism go wrong? Contemporary Hungary offers a first-class case for examining this phenomenon from very close distance.

Readings:


12. Normative implications: Is populism a corrective or a threat to democracy?

Turning to contemporary political developments (such as the concurrent elections for the European Parliament), this class asks: Is populism a pathological phenomenon or a
most authentic form of political representation? Does it matter? Does it all tell us something about the different qualities of democracy in (various pasts of) Europe and Latin America? And how does this discussion relate to ‘electoral authoritarianism’?

Readings: