



# *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

## *Syllabus*

### *The People vs. The Elites: European Populism in a Comparative Perspective - 54627*

*Last update 12-10-2021*

*HU Credits:* 2

*Degree/Cycle:* 2nd degree (Master)

*Responsible Department:* European Studies

*Academic year:* 0

*Semester:* 1st Semester

*Teaching Languages:* Hebrew

*Campus:* Mt. Scopus

*Course/Module Coordinator:* Dr. Daniel Wajner

*Coordinator Email:* [daniel.wajner@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:daniel.wajner@mail.huji.ac.il)

*Coordinator Office Hours:* Monday, 14:30-15:30, Room 6217 (requires previous notification)

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Teaching Staff:

Dr. Daniel Wajner

Course/Module description:

*This course seeks to familiarize students with the vast literature concerning the rise of populism in Europe and around the world, focusing on the main drivers, patterns, and effects of contemporary transnational populism.*

*Struggles over the legitimacy of “Peoples” and “elites” have traditionally been intrinsic to the strategies employed by populist leaders, and the transnational quest for populist legitimation plays an increasingly important role in social, political, and institutional processes.*

*Throughout the course, we delve into the theoretical foundations of populism, addressing competing historical and ideational roots, while exploring the populist path in comparison to other political dynamics currently unfolding in Western and Eastern Europe, Latin and North America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.*

*This combination of perspectives is crucial to improving our understanding of the transnational dimension of the populist phenomenon and the challenges it poses for democratic societies and regional integration in Europe and beyond.*

Course/Module aims:

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

*The course is organized as follows. The first section introduces the rationale for the theoretical cooperation between populism, comparative politics, international relations, and European studies. The second section explains the populists’ quest for legitimation in Europe and abroad, while focusing on the role of populist attitudes, leaderships and contestations. The third section addresses the populist performance in the international scene, including its patterns and implications in terms of foreign policy, regional and global cooperation, as well as trade, security, and human rights. The course concludes by discussing how contemporary populism affect the democratic and liberal principles of the international order, in general, and the European regional order, in particular, while suggesting future avenues for research.*

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Attendance requirements(%):

*Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Course requirements, assignments and grading*

*Students are expected to demonstrate active participation throughout the course and deliver a short final assignment related to one of the topics studied in class.*

*Grading: 30% class participation, 70% final assignment.*

Course/Module Content:

*Lessons plan & main topics*

- 1) Introduction to Populism: the European experience in comparative perspective.*
- 2) Populism and its Research 'Schools': Populism as Discourse, Strategy, Style, Socio-Economic Policy, and Ideology.*
- 3) Mapping European Populism: left-wing & right-wing; West & East; authoritarian & democratic; in power & in the opposition.*
- 4) The Audience: Populist Attitudes in Europe and abroad.*
- 5) The Leadership: Populist Performance in Europe and abroad.*
- 6) The 'Battle': Populist Mobilization, Contestation and Mitigation.*
- 7) "The Global Rise of Populism": the simultaneous emergence of populist governments.*
- 8) Populism in/and Foreign Policy*
- 9) Populism in/and International Cooperation, Regional Integration, and Trade.*
- 10) Populism in/and International Security and Human Rights*
- 11) The impact of Populism on National Democracies in Europe and abroad.*
- 12) The impact of Populism on the Liberal World Order.*
- 13) Quo Vadis? Contemporary Populist Governments and its Legitimation Battles.*

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Required Reading:

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

*General Reading*

Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, et al., eds., (2017). *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press.

Stengel, FA MacDonald DB & Nabers D. (2019). *Populism and World Politics: Exploring Inter-and Transnational Dimensions*. Palgrave-Macmillan.

Moffitt B. (2016) *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford University Press.

Levitsky S and Ziblatt D. (2018) *How democracies die*. Broadway Books.

De la Torre, C. (2018, ed). *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism*. Routledge.

Wajner, Daniel F., "Global Populism: Sources, Patterns, and Effects", In *The Palgrave Handbook of Populism*, edited by Michael Oswald (Palgrave, forthcoming 2022).

Additional Reading Material:

Lesson 1) Introduction to Populism: the European experience in comparative perspective

Inglehart, R. F., and Norris, P.(2016). "Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash." *Harvard Papers*.

Mudde C. and Rovira-Kaltwasser C. (2012) *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or corrective for democracy?* Cambridge University Press [Chapter 1].

Taggart, Paul. (2017). *Populism in Western Europe*. In Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, et al., eds. *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press, 2017, 248-66.

Stanley, Ben. (2017). *Populism in Central and Eastern Europe*. In Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, et al., eds. *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press, 2017, 140-60.

Bonikowski, B. (2016). *Three lessons of contemporary populism in Europe and the United States*. *Brown J. World Aff.*, 23, 9.

Kaltwasser, C. R. (2015). *Explaining the Emergence of Populism in Europe and the Americas*. In Carlos De la Torre, *The promise and perils of populism: Global perspectives*, 189-227.

Verbeek B and Zazlove A.(2015) *The counter forces of European integration: Nationalism, Populism and EU foreign policy*. In *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. SAGE, 530-544.

Stockemer, D., (Ed.) (2019). *Populism around the world*. Springer.

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*Lesson 2) Populism and its Research 'Schools': Discourse, Style, Socio-Economic Conditions, Strategy, and Ideology*

Hawkins KA, and Carlin RE, Littvay L and Rovira-Kaltwasser K.(2018) *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. Taylor&Francis. [Chapter 1 and 2]

Weyland, Kurt. 2017. "A political-strategic approach." In Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al., eds. *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press, 48-73.

Müller, Jan-Werner. (2017) *What is populism?* Penguin UK.

Rooduijn M.(2014) *The nucleus of populism: In search of the lowest common denominator*. *Government and Opposition* 49(4):573-599.

Stanley B.(2008) *The thin ideology of populism*. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13(1):95-110

Freedden M.(2017). *After the Brexit referendum: revisiting populism as an ideology*. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 22(1):1-11.

Barr, RR. (2018). *Populism as a political strategy*. In *Routledge handbook of global populism*, 44-56.

Mudde C. and Rovira-Kaltwasser C. (2017) *Populism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press. [Introduction]

Weyland K.(2001) *Clarifying a contested concept: Populism in the study of Latin American politics*. *Comparative politics* 34(1):1-22.

Kaltwasser CR et al.(2017) *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press.

Laclau, E.(2005) *On populist reason*. Verso.

Taggart, P.(2000). *Populism: Concepts in the Social Sciences*. Open University Press.

Canovan M.(1981) *Populism*. Houghton-Mifflin-Harcourt.

Conniff M.(1999). *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa-London: University of Alabama Press.

*Lesson 3) Mapping European Populism: left-wing & right-wing; West & East; authoritarian & democratic; in power & in the opposition.*

Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2013). *Exclusionary vs. inclusionary populism: Comparing contemporary Europe and Latin America*. *Government and opposition*, .147-174 ,(2)48

Rooduijn, M, and Akkerman T.(2017) "Flank attacks: Populism and left-right radicalism in Western Europe." *Party Politics* 23(3):193-204.

McDonnell, D., and Werner, A.(2020). *International Populism: The Radical Right in the European Parliament*. Oxford University Press [Chapters 1 and 2].

Stavrakakis, Y. and G. Katsambekis.(2014) "Left-wing populism in the European periphery: the case of SYRIZA." *Journal of political ideologies* 19(2):119-142.

Filc, D. (2015). *Latin American inclusive and European exclusionary populism: colonialism as an explanation*. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 20(3), 263-283.

Mudde C. (2007) *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

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Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (Eds.).(2008). *Twenty-first Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*. Palgrave-Macmillan.

Kioupkiolis, A.(2016) "Podemos: the ambiguous promises of left-wing populism in contemporary Spain." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21(2):99-120.

Zúquete, J.P. (2018). *From left to right and beyond: The defense of populism*. In *Routledge handbook of global populism* (416-434). Routledge.

Liang CS.(2016) *Europe for the Europeans: The foreign and security policy of the populist radical right*. Routledge.

Betz, H.G. (1994). *Radical right-wing populism in Western Europe*. Springer.

#### *Lesson 4) The Audience: Populist Attitudes in Europe and abroad*

Hawkins KA, Riding S, and Mudde C.(2012). *Measuring populist attitudes*. C&M series, Bepress.

Inglehart, R. F., and Norris, P.(2016). "Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash." *Harvard Papers*.

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De Wilde, P., Koopmans, R., Merkel, W., & Zürn, M.(Eds.).(2019). *The struggle over borders: Cosmopolitanism and communitarianism*. Cambridge University Press.

Moffitt B.(2016) *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford University Press. [Chapter 5, 6]

Roberts KM.(2014) *Populism, political mobilizations, and crises of political representation*. In De la Torre 140-158.

Borriello, A., & Brack, N. (2019). 'I want my sovereignty back!' *Journal of European Integration*, 41(7), 833-853.

Näsström, S.(2007). "The legitimacy of the people." *Political Theory*, 35(5):624-658.

Panizza F.(2005). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. Verso.

Rico, G., Guinjoan, M., & Anduiza, E. (2017). *The emotional underpinnings of populism: How anger and fear affect populist attitudes*. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 23(4), 444-461.

Madrid, Raúl L. (2008) 'The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America', *World Politics* .508-475 :(3)60

#### *Lesson 5) The Leadership: Populist Performance in Europe and abroad*

Moffitt B.(2016) *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford University Press. [Chapter 3, 4, 5]

Bonikowski, B, and Gidron, N.(2015) "The populist style in American politics: Presidential campaign discourse, 1952-1996." *Social Forces* 94(4):1593-1621.

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

Casullo, ME.(2019). "How to Become a Leader: Identifying Global Repertoires for Populist Leadership." In *Populism and World Politics*. Palgrave-Macmillan, 55-72.

Sagarzazu I and Thies C.(2019) *The Foreign Policy Rhetoric of Populism: Chávez, Oil and Anti-Imperialism*. *Political Science Quarterly* 72(1):205-214.

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Drezner, DW.(2017) "The Angry Populist as Foreign Policy Leader: Real Change or Just Hot Air." *Fletcher F. World Aff.* 41:23.

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Senkman, L. and L. Roniger. (2019). *América Latina tras bambalinas: Teorías conspirativas, usos y abusos.* Latin American Research Commons.

De la Torre, Carlos (2013) 'In the Name of the People: Democratization, Popular Organizations, and Populism in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador', *European Review of Latin America Studies* 95(1): 27-48.

#### Lesson 6) The 'Battle': Populist Mobilization, Contestation and Mitigation.

Levitsky S and Ziblatt D. (2018) *How democracies die.* Broadway Books (introduction).

Rovira-Kaltwasser CR.(2017) "Populism and the question of how to respond to it." In Kaltwasser, CR., Taggart, PA., Espejo, PO., & Ostiguy P. (Eds.). (2017). *The Oxford handbook of populism.* Oxford Univ.Press.

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Žižek, S.(2006). Against the populist temptation. *Critical inquiry* 32(3):551-574.

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Rovira-Kaltwasser CR and Taggart P.(2016). "Dealing with populists in government: A framework for analysis." *Democratization* 23(2):201-220.

Albertazzi D and McDonnell D.(2015) *Populists in power.* Routledge [Chapter 1].

Jenne, E.K., & Mudde, C. (2012). Hungary's Illiberal Turn: Can Outsiders Help?. *Journal of Democracy*, 23(3), 147-155.

Bonilla-Saus, Javier and Pedro Isern-Munne, eds. (2014) *Plebe versus ciudadanía: a propósito del populismo contemporáneo.* Buenos Aires: Biblos.

#### Lesson 7) The Global Rise of Populism: the simultaneous emergence of populist governments.

Hadiz VR and Chrysogelos A.(2017) *Populism in world politics: A comparative cross-regional perspective.* *International Political Science Review* 38(4):399-411.

Stengel, FA MacDonald DB & Nabers D.(2019). *Populism and World Politics: Exploring Inter-and Transnational Dimensions.* Palgrave-Macmillan [Chapter 1].

Verbeek B and Zazlove A.(2015) *The counter forces of European integration:*

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Nationalism, Populism and EU foreign policy. In *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. SAGE, 530-544.

Destradi, S, and Plagemann, J.(2019) "Populism and International Relations:(Un) predictability, personalisation, and the reinforcement of existing trends in world politics." *Review of International Studies* 45(5):711-730.

Grzymala-Busse, A., Fukuyama F, Kuo D, McFaul. M. (2020) *Global Populisms and their Challenges*. Global Populisms Cluster. Stanford University, <https://stanford.app.box.com/s/0afiu4963qjy4gicahz2ji5x27tednaf>

De Cleen, B., Moffitt, B., Panayotu, P., & Stavrakakis, Y. (2020). The Potentials and Difficulties of Transnational Populism: The Case of the Democracy in Europe Movement 2025 (DiEM25). *Political Studies*, 68(1), 146-166.

Moffitt B.(2017). Transnational populism? Representative claims, media and the difficulty of constructing a transnational "people". *Javnost-The Public*, 24(4), 409-425.

De la Torre C.(2018, ed). *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism*. Routledge [Chapter 1].

Mead WR.(2011) The Tea Party and American foreign policy: What populism means for globalism. *Foreign Affairs* 90(2):28-44.

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McDonnell, D., and Werner, A.(2020). *International Populism: The Radical Right in the European Parliament*. Oxford University Press [Chapters 1 and 2].

Wajner DF.(2019) "Making (Latin) America Great Again: Lessons from Populist Foreign Policies in the Americas.", In F Stengel DB MacDonald and D Nabers, *Populism and World Politics*, Palgrave-Macmillan, 195-225.

#### Lesson 8) Populism in/and Foreign Policy

Verbeek B and Zazlove A..(2017) "Populism and Foreign Policy." In Rovira-Kaltwasser et-al, pp.384-405.

Wajner, D. F. (2021). Exploring the foreign policies of populist governments:(Latin) America First. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 1-30.

Chrysogelos, A.(2017). "Populism in foreign policy." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

Plagemann, J., and S. Destradi.(2018) "Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 15(2):283-301.

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Löfflmann, G.(2019). "America First and the Populist Impact on US Foreign Policy." *Survival*, 61(6):115-138.

Wojczewski, T.(2019). "Populism, Hindu nationalism, and foreign policy in India: the politics of representing "the people". *International Studies Review* (n.d.)

Skonieczny A.(2001) Constructing NAFTA: Myth, representation, and the discursive construction of US foreign policy. *International Studies Quarterly* 45(3):433-454.

Drezner, DW.(2017) "The Angry Populist as Foreign Policy Leader: Real Change or Just Hot Air." *Fletcher F. World Aff.* 41:23.



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Özpek, B.B., & Tanriverdi Yaşar, N. (2018). Populism and foreign policy in Turkey under the AKP rule. *Turkish Studies*, 19(2), 198-216.

Wehner, Leslie and Cameron G. Thies (2021) 'The Nexus of Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of Latin America', *International Relations*, forthcoming.

Arugay, A.A. (2018) When populist perform foreign policy: Duterte and the Asia-Pacific region order. *SWP Working Papers* 4(1), October, [https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/projekt\\_papiere/Arugay\\_BCAS\\_Philippines.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/projekt_papiere/Arugay_BCAS_Philippines.pdf)

Mead WR. (2011) The Tea Party and American foreign policy: What populism means for globalism. *Foreign Affairs* 90(2), 28-44.

Holsti, O & Rosenau, J. (1996). Liberals, populists, libertarians, and conservatives: The link between domestic and international affairs. *International Political Science Review*, 17(1), 29-54

Hughes, T. (1975). Liberals, Populists, and Foreign Policy. *Foreign Policy*, 20, 98-137.

#### *Lesson 9) Populism in/and International Cooperation, Regional Integration and Trade.*

Voeten E.(2019) "Populism and Backlashes Against International Courts." *Perspectives on Politics*.

Copelovitch, M., and Pevehouse, J.C. (2019). International organizations in a new era of populist nationalism. *Review of International Organizations* 14:169–186.

Skonieczny A.(2018). "Emotions and political narratives: Populism, Trump and trade." *Politics and Governance* 6(4):62-72.

Wajner DF and Roniger L.(2019) "Transnational Identity Politics in the Americas: Chavismo's Regional Legitimation Strategies." *Latin American Research Review* .(2)54

Sagarzazu I and Thies C.(2019) The Foreign Policy Rhetoric of Populism: Chávez, Oil and Anti-Imperialism. *Political Science Quarterly* 72(1):205-214.

Söderbaum, F., Spandler, K., & Pacciardi, A.(2021) "Contestations of the Liberal International Order: A Populist Script of Regional Cooperation.". *Cambridge Series*.

Pevehouse, JCW.(2020) "The COVID-19 Pandemic, International Cooperation, and Populism." *International Organization* (forthcoming): 1-22.

Stavrakakis, Y. and G. Katsambekis.(2014) "Left-wing populism in the European periphery: the case of SYRIZA." *Journal of political ideologies* 19(2):119-142.

De la Torre C.(2017) "A Populist International?: ALBA's Democratic and Autocratic Promotion." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 37(1):83-93.

Liang CS.(2016) *Europe for the Europeans: The foreign and security policy of the populist radical right*. Routledge.

Roch, J. (2020) "Friends or foes? Europe and 'the people' in the representations of populist parties." *Politics* (forthcoming).

Milner, Helen V. 2019. "Globalisation, Populism and the Decline of the Welfare State." *Survival* 61(2), 91-96.

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Lesson 10) Populism in/and International Security and Human Rights

Wajner DF.(2020), "Populism and Legitimacy: Exploring the International Legitimation Strategies of Contemporary Populist Governments", In Hawkins et al, *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Consequences and Mitigation*, Cambridge University Press.

Marina Henke and Richard Maher (2021), *The populist challenge to European defense*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, forthcoming.

Krebs, RR.(2020) "Pluralism, Populism, and the Impossibility of Grand Strategy". In *The Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy*, Forthcoming.

Drezner, DW.(2017) "The Angry Populist as Foreign Policy Leader: Real Change or Just Hot Air." *Fletcher F. World Aff.* 41:23.

Biegon, R. 2020. "A populist grand strategy? Trump and the framing of American decline." *International Relations*, forthcoming.

Homolar, A, and Löfflmann, G.(2021) "Populism and the Affective Politics of Humiliation Narratives," *Global Studies Quarterly* (forthcoming).

Kuehn, D, and Trinkunas, H.(2017). "Conditions of military contestation in populist Latin America." *Democratization* 24(5):859-880.

Wajner DF.(2019) "Making (Latin) America Great Again: Lessons from Populist Foreign Policies in the Americas.", In F Stengel DB MacDonald and D Nabers, *Populism and World Politics*, Palgrave-Macmillan, 195-225.

Lesson 11) The impact of Populism on National Democracies in Europe and abroad.

Levitsky S and Ziblatt D.(2018) *How democracies die*. Broadway Books [Chapters 1, 3, 2

Weyland K. and Madrid RL, eds.(2019). *When Democracy Trumps Populism: European and Latin American Lessons for the United States*. Cambridge University Press [Chapter 1].

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Mudde C. and Rovira-Kaltwasser C.(2012) *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or corrective for democracy?* Cambridge University Press.

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De Cleen, B.(2017). "Populism and nationalism." In *Handbook of populism*, 342-362.

Finchelstein, F.(2019). *From fascism to populism in history*. University of California Press.

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Panizza F. (2005). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. Verso.  
Panizza, F., & Miorelli, R. (2009). *Populism and democracy in Latin America*. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 23(1), 39-47.  
Mounk, Y. (2018). *The people vs. democracy: Why our freedom is in danger and how to save it*. Harvard University Press.

*Lesson 12) The impact of Populism on the Liberal World Order.*

Chrysogelos, A.(2018). "State transformation and populism: From the internationalized to the neo-sovereign state?." *Politics* 40:1, 22-37.  
Wajner DF.(2021), *Delegitimizing International Institutions: How Global Populism Challenges the Liberal World Order*. Paper presented at the Jour Fixe of the SCRIPTS Cluster, June 2021.  
Grzymala-Busse, A., (2017) *Global Populisms and Their Impact*. *Slavic Review* 76(S1), S3-S8.  
Lake, D.A., Martin, L.L., & Risse, T., eds. (2021) *Challenges to the Liberal International*, *International Organization* (75th anniversary issue, forthcoming).  
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Söderbaum, F., Spandler, K., & Pacciardi, A.(2020) "Contestations of the Liberal International Order: A Populist Script of Regional Cooperation." (n.d.).  
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Posner, E.A. (2017). *Liberal Internationalism and the Populist Backlash*. *Ariz. St. LJ*, .795-819 ,49  
Patman, R.G. (2019). *The Liberal International Order and Its Populist Adversaries in Russia, UK and USA*. In Stengel, F. et al, eds., *Populism and World Politics* (pp.277-303). Palgrave-Macmillan.  
Miller, B. (2019) *Populism, Nationalism and the International Order*. Paper presented at the EISA-PEC Conference, Sofia.

*Lesson 13) Quo Vadis? Contemporary Populist Governments and its Legitimation Battles.*

*Discussion based on recent media articles.*

Course/Module evaluation:

End of year written/oral examination 0 %

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*Presentation 0 %*  
*Participation in Tutorials 30 %*  
*Project work 70 %*  
*Assignments 0 %*  
*Reports 0 %*  
*Research project 0 %*  
*Quizzes 0 %*  
*Other 0 %*

*Additional information:*