

SOC 190

The re-birth of populism across the globe

This is a research-heavy course that focuses on populist movements and regimes. We first discuss the major sociological approaches to populism: modernization theory; Marxism and post-Marxism; institutionalism; cultural (performative, ideological) analyses; and social movement theory. We then turn to the world-historical development of populism and discuss its ebbs and flows by focusing on specific cases. The overall goal is understanding what has brought us to the current populist moment.

The precursor to the current global populist wave was the rise of new movements and regimes in Latin America in the 1990s. After the 2008 financial crisis, revolutions and protests erupted in quite dissimilar geographies: the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street in the US, the failed Arab revolutions, horizontalist revolts in Southern Europe, and right-wing radicalization in Venezuela, Ukraine, France, Poland, Hungary, Turkey, Italy, and India. The more recent rise of Trump, Bolsonaro, Farage, Corbyn, Syriza, Podemos, Modi, Duterte, and Sanders/DSA shows that the trend is intensifying. What are the sociological dynamics behind this global rise of populism (and the decline of the liberal-conservative center)?

Lectures will focus on the mentioned cases, as well as historical precursors (the People's Party in the US, Narodism in pre-Bolshevik Russia, Revolutionary Path in Turkey, Peronism, Maoism, Titoism, fascism, Nazism, and Italian Communism). Students will write a research paper on one or two historical and/or contemporary case(s).

Assignments and final paper

Each student will choose one (or more) populist movement(s) and analyze them along (some of) the following axes: reasons for emergence; demographic bases of support; main resources; policy implications; the prominence of violence; leader-mass organization balance; reasons for success or failure; and impact on democracy and/or capitalism-socialism. Your reading and analysis on this movement(s) will develop throughout the semester. Here are the specific steps you will take:

Step 1. You will decide which movement(s) you are going to cover. You will submit a page on the movement(s) you have chosen and your rationale. (Note: I will provide a set of cases you can choose from, but you will not be restricted to that list. I will also suggest some readings on each of the cases). Your response has to specify the following: why is your case populist? What makes it more interesting than other cases of populism? (These answers will help you with the methodology/case selection and literature review sections of your final paper for the course).

Step 2. You will submit a bibliography: a collection of at least 5 books and 5 articles you need to read on this topic. As you move along, you need to compile an additional set of 10-15 texts (which you might not read in their entirety, but will become familiar with).

Step 3. You will turn in a preliminary outline, which will address the following:

1a) Your research question; 1b) A discussion of how this question addresses the gaps in the populism literature – 1 page;

2) Case selection and justification (along with methods of study) – 1-2 paragraphs;

3) Main argument(s) and the highlights of your analysis – 1-2 pages.

Step 4. You will submit preliminary tables summarizing your analysis of the movements'/regimes' economic policy (and/or rhetoric), race and immigration policy (and/or rhetoric), and at least four other issues (of your own choosing). I will provide more guidelines on how to do this.

Step 5. You will be ready to present all comparisons and contrasts to class.

After the first month of class, you will submit **short memos** that summarize the *additional* articles/books you have read that week for your project.

All of these distinct steps will add up to the final paper. (I will provide more guidelines on this as well). The paper will present your findings on the movements of your choice in an academic article format.

Class meetings and discussion: There will be more lectures in the beginning. After the first four weeks, more participation will be required.

Grading:

Attendance and participation: 20%

Assignments (Steps 1-5; short memos): 30%

Presentation: 10%

Final paper: 40%

READINGS

THE MAJOR APPROACHES

Week 1: Modernization theory

Worsley, Peter. 1969. "The Concept of Populism." in *Populism: Its Meanings and National Characteristics*, Ed. by Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Di Tella, Torcuato S. 1997. "Populism into the Twenty-first Century." *Government and Opposition* 32/2: 187-200.

Optional reading:

Di Tella, Torcuato S. 1965. "Populism and Reform in Latin America." Pp. 47–74 in *Obstacles to Change in Latin America*, edited by Claudio Veliz. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Week 2: Marxist theories

Abrahamian, Ervand. 1991. "Khomeini: Fundamentalist or Populist?," *New Left Review* 186: 102–119.

Colas, Alejandro. 2004. "The Re-Invention of Populism: Islamist Responses to Capitalist Development in the Contemporary Maghreb." *Historical Materialism* 12/4: 231-260.

Optional reading:

Waisman, Carlos H. 1982. *Modernization and the Working Class: The Politics of Legitimacy*. Austin: University of Texas Press. (Selections).

Week 3: Post-Marxism and discourse analysis

Laclau, Ernesto. 1977. *Politics and ideology in Marxist theory: capitalism, fascism, populism*. London: NLB. Pp. 143-198.

———. 2005. *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso. (Selections).

Week 4: Institutional analyses

de la Torre, Carlos. 2000. *Populist Seduction in Latin America: The Ecuadorian Experience*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies. (Selections).

Optional reading:

Weyland, Kurt. 1998. “Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America.” *Comparative Political Studies* 31:539–68.

Week 5: Populism as style

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

Week 6: Populism as thin-centered ideology

Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Selections).

Week 7: Populism as mobilization

Jansen, Robert S. 2011. “Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism.” *Sociological Theory* 29/2: 75–96.

Week 8: New theoretical directions

Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. “Why populism?” *Theory and Society* 46/5: 357-385.

Bray, Michael. 2015. “Rearticulating Contemporary Populism: Class, State, and Neoliberal Society.” *Historical Materialism* 23/3

Morgül, Kerem. 2019. "Performing Revolutionary Populism: The Revolutionary Path Movement in Turkey." *Qualitative Sociology* 42/2: 273-297.

CASES AND STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Week 9: Latin America

Roberts, Kenneth M. 2010. "Latin America's Populist Revival," *SAIS Review* 27/1: 3-15.

Mudde, C. and Rovira Kaltwasser, C. 2013. "Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America." *Government and Opposition* 48(2): 147-174.

Hetland, Gabriel. 2014. "The Crooked Line: From Populist Mobilization to Participatory Democracy in Chávez Era Venezuela." *Qualitative Sociology* 37(4): 373–401.

Week 10: Africa

Hart, Gillian. 2013. *Rethinking the South African Crisis: Nationalism, Populism, Hegemony*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press. (Selections).

Week 11: Europe and the United States

Stavrakakis, Y. 2018. "Populism, Anti-Populism and Democracy." *Political Insight* 9/3: 33–35.

Bonikowski, Bart. 2017. "Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 23 (1): 9-24.

Lamont, Michèle, Bo Yun Park and Elena Ayala-Hurtado. 2017. "Trump's electoral speeches and his appeal to the American white working class." *The British Journal of Sociology* 68/S1: S153–S180.

Optional reading:

Paris Aslanidis & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2016) Dealing with populists in government: the SYRIZA-ANEL coalition in Greece, *Democratization*, 23:6, 1077-1091.

Gest, J., Reny, T., & Mayer, J. 2018. "Roots of the Radical Right: Nostalgic Deprivation in the United States and Britain." *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(13), 1694–1719.

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

Week 12: Southeast Asia and the Middle East

Hadiz, Vedi R. 2016. *Islamic populism in Indonesia and the Middle East*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (Selections).

Optional reading:

Garrido, Marco. 2017. "Why the Poor Support Populism: The Politics of Sincerity in Metro Manila." *American Journal of Sociology* 123(3): 647–685.

Jaffrelot, C. (2013). Gujarat Elections: The Sub-Text of Modi's 'Hattrick'—High Tech Populism and the 'Neo-middle Class.' *Studies in Indian Politics*, 1(1), 79–95.